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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY

SHARON TURNER, F.S.A.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE NORMAN CONQUEST,

TO

THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE FIRST.

BY

SHARON TURNER, F.S.A.

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PREFACE.

IN presenting to the Public the fruits of a favourite study, I cannot offer as the apology for any defects of the present Work, the haste with which it has been written. It is the gradual result of the application of the leisure hours of several years to a subject, that has interested me from my youth: and I know too well the intellectual improvements and general talents of that British Public, whose early history and progress I have endeavoured to elucidate, not to be sensible, that to obtain its approbation in the nineteenth century, no common labour, no supine attention, would suffice. But the attainments of every individual, whatever may be his wishes, are circumscribed within bounds which, though others may easily overpass, he will never be able to exceed. That an Author should perform the task he undertakes to the full extent of his abilities, the Public has a right to exact. Less exertion than this would be a negligence bordering on disrespect. More, is impossible. In the discharge of this duty, I am not conscious that I have erred. I have not intentionally omitted any care or assiduity to make the present History as correct and satisfactory as my means of information, or personal diligence, could supply: and I hope that on this ground I have some claim to expect that those readers, whose criticism may be awakened by its imperfections, will recollect what has been performed, as well as what may be found deficient.

It may be asked—Why add another History of England to the public stock, when Mr. Hume has composed one with beauties of style too universally felt to be disputed or surpassed—when an industrious Rapin has annalized the principal facts with a minuteness, which patient curiosity will, in its sober labours, be gratified by consulting—when Dr. Henry has with orderly diligence and fidelity so unassumingly arranged the best matter that lay within his reach, under divisions that conveniently present important information under each—and when Carte has aspired to glean what others left unnoticed, though he has made his collection almost unapproachable, by a taste the most unselecting, and by dulness unrelieved—Are these Authors to be superseded or neglected, who have taken their fixed and appropriate stations in every library and in public fame?

My answer is, that the present Work interferes with neither of these unequal, but valuable performances. With the three first, at least, the curious Public will not easily dispense. The graces of Mr. Hume's easy diction, and the general beauty of his reflections, whenever occasional peculiarities did not interfere with his penetration, it is not for me to praise, because they have long established their claim to a high rank in English literary composition. The details of Rapin, although now too wearisome to be frequently read amid the mighty events of the last fifty years, which make the histories of preceding times almost dwindle into insignificance, it will be always desirable to possess, and useful to consult. And our Henry's arrangement and valuable matter possess an advantage of reference, and present a satisfactory information on particular topics, which every scholar will find auxiliary to his minuter inquiries.

The

The present Work has arisen from a perception, that there were many important documents of the middle ages, which former writers had not consulted; and many facts essential to a complete knowledge of our history, which lay untouched and unappropriated. I have endeavoured to make these a part of our national history. It was also believed that, standing on the 'vantage ground of the nineteenth century, some views might be taken of the great stream of time which has preceded, in parts more comprehensive, in parts more picturesque; and, on the whole, more just and faithful, than had hitherto been sketched. Time is every day passing before us such extensive scenes of action, and such stupendous revolutions, that it seems to have become necessary to drop much of the detail in which former historians have properly indulged, in order to bring events together more in their connected masses; and to exhibit them in those great operations and results which have most influenced the succeeding periods.

On this plan, and with these objects, the following Work has been composed. And though I may have failed in properly executing my own project, yet I will hope to have offered some facts and considerations to the notice of the general reader, which it may be neither unprofitable, nor wholly unentertaining to peruse.

I have very rarely exercised the invidious office of pointing out the occasional errors of my predecessors. No writer on a large subject, and using unconnected and multifarious materials, can hope to escape them. I have endeavoured to be accurate in my own work; and have thought that I should save time and temper, both to the public and to myself, by leaving it to those who like minute researches, to make the comparison for themselves, whenever a difference of view or a discordant circumstance may arrest their attention.

attention. But I have been anxious to perform one essential duty with scrupulous care—the personal examination of the authorities used, and a faithful citation of the passages consulted. I have inspected the original documents and authors which are quoted, with scarce a single exception; and have referred to them precisely. This has never been omitted, wherever it was attainable—and with due allowance for occasional deceptions of sight, in taking down a page or in transcribing it, or in the casual errors of the press, I trust the quotations will be found generally correct.

It has been a considerable gratification to observe, that the history of England from the Norman conquest, is the history of continued national progression. During the period comprized within this Volume, the first steps of that progress were visibly made; and it has been attempted to trace, and to explain them. As the Work will advance, the improvements of the Country will more manifestly appear; because, as we emerge from the darker part of our annals, more documents will present themselves to assist our inquiries, and every reign will afford a more luminous illustration. It is probable that the English history is not singular in this respect; but that every country, if studied with this object in view, will be found to have exhibited a progress, not indeed wholly commensurate with that of England, but proportional to its own situation and resources. In every country, whether ancient or modern, whose annals I have examined, I have found such indications of gradual advancement, that it has become the tendency of my mind to believe, that the history of the human species would, if sufficiently contemplated by the moral philosopher, with due regard to the principles and necessities of our nature, be found to exhibit from its earliest period a course of continuous improvement. But however this may be, as to mankind in general, there

can

can be no question, that the British population has been, from the landing of William the Conqueror, in a state of progressive melioration. This ascertainable fact affords the most cheering prospects of our future character and destinies. That progression which has been effected when obstacles innumerable existed to retard it, cannot but be more brilliantly operative now, when its attainment has put in action more numerous causes and more active instruments of extending and accelerating its advancement.

The next Volume, which will be printed as soon as personal occupations of another sort allow it to be completed, will contain—

Sketch of the State and Progress of EUROPE in the Fourteenth Century.
History of the Reign of EDWARD I.
- - - - - - - - - EDWARD II.
- - - - - - - - - EDWARD III.
- - - - - - - - - RICHARD II.
- - - - - - - - - HENRY IV.
- - - - - - - - - HENRY V.
- - - - - - - - - HENRY VI.
- - - - - - - - - EDWARD IV.
History of NATURAL and EXPERIMENTAL PHILOSOPHY, during these Reigns
History of the ancient ENGLISH POETRY.
History of our LANGUAGE and PROSE LITERATURE.
History of RELIGION in ENGLAND.
History of our PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUTION.
Review of the State of our SOCIETY and MANNERS.
History of our LAW and practical JURISPRUDENCE.

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THE

HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS,

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

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THE PROGRESS OF EUROPE TO ITS STATE AT THE PERIOD OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

ANTERIOR to the Norman invasion, England took little interest and rarely interfered in the affairs of the Continent. When the nations of the Baltic assaulted her shores, she struggled to repel their aggression, but never attempted to retort it. The genius of Canute had, during his reign, combined her with the Scandinavian states; and Athelstan had sought a foreign alliance for his sister[1]. But these connections were unfrequent and transient. The Anglo-Saxons were not a people curious after the manners and transactions of other lands: pride or ignorance produced an apathy as to all countries but their own. No one had imitated the inquisitiveness of Alfred. And hence their political relations were as circumscribed as their historical curiosity and their geographical knowledge.

The

[1] Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. pp. 431—443. and 355. 2d ed.

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The association of Normandy with the English crown ended for ever our insular seclusion. The course of events after that period, perpetually, though varyingly, connected us with the Continent. The history of England then became interwoven with the history of Europe: and it will assist the comprehension of our national history, if we precede our consideration of it by a review of the progress of events that led to the formation of the continental states.

By the eleventh century an important advance had been made towards the establishment of that order of things, which has gradually converted the states and kingdoms of Europe into one great family; sometimes indeed torn by internal dissensions, but always at last returning to habits of intercourse and similarity. Individual powers have at times inclined to eccentricities which have threatened to endanger their general relations; but these have never been so permanently mischievous as to break up the order of the whole. The sympathies and interests, arising from the same generic origin; from a common religion and hierarchy; from an universal emulation of literature, and a necessary cultivation of one classical language; from similar gradations and privileges of rank; from civil institutions originally analogous, and from manners and pursuits perpetually identifying; connected all with such unceasing and powerful affinities and mutual gravitation, that the various nations of Europe have from the twelfth century been always moving by the same laws, and keeping in the same system. Completely distinct and dissimilar, in this respect, from the populations of Asia and Africa; among whom there has been no union but that of conquest; no common feeling but that of mutual hostility; no likeness but the sterile uniformity of bigotry, despotism, or base superstitions.

At the time when the Roman empire fell in the West, the identity of

of Europe was the identity of barbarism; but it was barbarism with many peculiar features, from which the largest portion of our improvements and happiness have proceeded. These were the invariable association of national councils with the sovereign power; an order of hereditary nobility; the establishment of the rights of primo-geniture; the existence of a class of freemen, with privileges which power could not abrogate; a high feeling of personal honour and distinction, and a regard almost venerating for the female sex and the marriage union[2]. In these respects Europe has differed from Asia with increasing superiority. And though no one but England has retained her parliaments in their primeval vigour and use, yet all once enjoyed them[3], and have prospered from the possession, until, with the loss of this great palladium, that prosperity has become inferior to our own.

5th Century. Barbarian Movements.

In the fifth century, that simultaneous movement, whose effects we yet feel, but whose causes we can now but imperfectly explore, of the northern tribes of Europe on the more genial regions of the south [4], filled England with the Angli and Saxons, Gaul with the Burgundians and Francs, Spain with the Suevi, Goths, and Vandals, and Italy with the Lombards and other people, who established in these countries permanent states.

The vacancies, caused by their vast and almost contemporary migrations, were gradually filled up in the North and East of Europe by new floods of Slavonian and Tartar tribes, more rude, from

[2] In Cæsar's succinct but intelligent sketch of the Germans (de bello Gall. l. 6.) and in the more detached and elaborate description of Tacitus, most of these traits are noticed as accompanying their earliest state.

[3] Even the Russians in the eleventh century had their deliberating parliaments, to which the citizens, as well as the clergy and the great, were convoked. L'Evesque gives this circumstance from Nestor, the oldest of the Russian historians, and Monk of Kiow, born in 1056. Hist. de Russie, vol. 1. p. 234. Nestor's plain but faithful Chronicle ends 1115. It was printed at Petersburgh, in 4to, 1767.

[4] Mascou's History of the Germans contains a copious statement of these movements; and Mr. Gibbon has noticed them with his usual precision.

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from their nomade state, than the departed barbarians, whose ancient seats they repeopled. These new occupants gradually fixed themselves between the Baltic, the Elbe, and the Danube [5], and slowly grew up into permanent and numerous hordes, lining the rivers and pervading the morasses and forests of Germany with populations formidable for their fierce habits, brutish ignorance, and ill-supplied necessities.

6th Century. Lombards occupy Italy.

Italy, overrun by the Lombards[6], became a spectacle of wretchedness. Their swords and desolations extirpated the corrupted and fast-decaying civilization which the Goths had spared. Penury, ignorance, and a stern savage government, spread gloom and misery, in the sixth and seventh centuries, from the Tiber to the Alps[7]. The Grecian empire maintained a remnant of dominion upon a portion of its sea coasts; but its power was feeble, and its influence disdained.

The Lombard lords divided the soil into petty sovereignties, and in these distributions laid the foundations of that political state from which the liberties and intellectual cultivation of Italy afterwards emerged. During her period of suffering, that vicious system of social habits and political government was destroyed, which had

[5] We find one nation of the Slavi (the Winedi) so far advanced in Germany, as to be warring with the Frankish king Clothaire, in the sixth century. See the Chronicon of Fredegarius Scholasticus, pp. 135 & 142. This writer flourished about 640.

[6] The Lombard history has been most fully transmitted to us by their historian Paulus Diaconus, contemporary with Charlemagne, whose work Muratori has printed in the first volume of his Scriptores Italici. Their *iron* crown, recently brought into notice by Bonaparte, is a *golden* crown with an interior circle of iron. Muratori has inserted a Drawing of it, in his first volume, p. 460.

[7] Gregory the Great, an eye witness, paints strongly the desolation of Italy under the Lombards. He says, "The cities are depopulated, the castles demolished, the churches burnt, the monasteries destroyed. The Lands lie waste, without cultivators or inhabitants. Beasts occupy the regions which men once enjoyed." Dialog. l. 3. c. 38. p. 310. ed. Paris, 1640. Gregory the 2d, in the year 680, apologizes for the ignorance of his legates, by asking, How could men have much knowledge of the Scriptures, who had to seek their daily bread by the labour of their body? Muratori, Ant. Ital. p. 810.

had so long debased her. The Italian mind was subjected to a temporary death, that it might revive with new energy under institutions more adapted to its improvement, and in a period of the world when its attainments would be rapidly communicated, and emulously imbibed.

8th Century. Christianity in Europe endangered by Mohamedanism,

The eighth century arose upon Europe with an aspect that seemed malignant to human happiness. Mohamedanism, having subjected Asia and Africa to its power, now poured itself victoriously over Spain[8], and, by this alarming success, confined Christianity to the Grecian empire, curtailed to a puny domain; and to the newly converted and still semi-barbarous nations, who possessed Italy, France, and the British Isles. All these asylums of our declining faith, but the last, were assaulted at various intervals with the dangerous vivacity and massy force of Mussulman fanaticism.

The contemplative mind at that period must have shrunk with gloomy forebodings, not unwarranted by reason, when, from the triumphs of the Crescent in the South and East, it turned on Germany, and beheld all Europe, beyond the Rhine, the Alps, and the Hellespont, maintaining against Christianity fierce and martial idolatries, and preparing to assault the states that respected it with deadly hostility. The Pagan tribes, then monopolizing the finest parts of the Continent, were in four great divisions of systems and populations, who each in their turn, but happily in succession, warred with the few Christian nations in Europe with energies and numbers that sometimes threatened their subversion. These were, the continental Saxons between the Rhine and the Elbe—the Northmen on the Baltic—the Hungarians, or Avari, between the

and by the Pagan States.

[8] The Arabs entered Spain in 710, and conquered it 712. Roderic, the archbishop of Toledo, who perished in the Rhone, 1247, states this invasion c. 9.—c. 12. And Elmacin, in his rapid Arabian abridgment of Mussulman history, briefly mentions it c. 13. p. 72. Mariana, in his eloquent but prolix History of Spain, details the conduct of the king Rodrigo, who caused it, l. 6. c. 21; the invasion of the Moors in c. 22; and the death of Rodrigo ultimo Rey de los Godos, c. 23.

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the Danube and the Bosphorus—and the Slavi, who diffused themselves over all the regions between the Elbe, the Frozen Ocean, and the Danube. At this portentous period, the great cause of civilization and Christianity hung chiefly upon the conduct and capacity of one single people and its rulers. This was the Frankish nation, scarcely yet escaped itself out of barbarism; exposed, from its central position, to the attacks of all these hostile systems, both of Paganism and of Mohamedanism; soon compelled to contend for its existence with each; but by its magnanimous bravery, and the skill of its Carlovingian family, triumphing over all, and advancing the civilization of Europe by its successes, to a degree unprecedented before. In one of the most dangerous of these struggles, we may recollect with pride, that the genius and exertions of our Alfred essentially contributed to the fortunate decision.

Europe saved by the Franks,

When the Franks[9] in the sixth century marched from the Rhine upon Gaul, they, and all Germany behind them, were barbarous and idolatrous. The auspicious adoption of Christianity by their victorious leader Clovis[10], placed them immediately within the circle of civilization, and gave this beneficent and enlightening religion a guardianship, without which, as far as human causes could operate, it must have perished. Under several of their succeeding kings, the Franks kept the Saxons at bay, faced and awed the Slavi and Huns, and occasionally overran the Suavi and Boii, who were peopling Suabia and Bohemia[11]. But civil dissensions began to paralyse the Frankish power, and luxury to enervate its kings;

[9] Gibbon states correctly of the Franks, that at the close of the fifth century they were settled upon the Scheld, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, governed by their independent kings of the Merovingian race, vol. 3. p. 559. 4to ed.

[10] See Gibbon's narration of the actions of Clovis, p. 560—580. His first state was inconsiderable. The Salian Franks, whom he commanded, possessed the island of the Batavians, with the ancient Dioceses of Tournay and Arras. Ib. p. 559.

[11] These events are noticed by Gregory of Tours, the ancient French historian of the sixth century, l. 4. c. 10. c. 14. c. 23; by Fredegarius, c. 68. c. 72. c. 74. c. 108; and by Aimonius, de Gestis Franc. l. 3. and l. 4. Aimonius was monk of Fleury on the Loire in 970.

kings; while in the eighth century the fierce nations of Germany were multiplying in their population and resources, and strengthening themselves, for subsequent hostilities, by confederations and conquests.

who expel the Mohamedans from France,

It was fortunate for the world, that as the Frankish kings dwindled into imbecility, their Maires du Palais assumed those powers and displayed those abilities which preserved Europe[12]. In 732, Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, decided the great question, whether Christianity or Mohamedanism should be the religion of Europe. The Arabs invaded France, out of Spain, with an aggregation of force and confidence of enthusiasm, which less ability than that of the Frankish chief, and less physical strength than that of the nation which his measures had united, could not have resisted. The danger of the attack may be measured by the length of the battle by which it was repressed. Seven days the great conflict lasted[13], greater perhaps than almost any other single struggle, for the immense consequences attached to the decision. At length on the seventh day the Franks triumphed, and above 300,000 Arabs slain, announced the magnitude of the peril from which Europe had been saved. Undismayed by a destruction that would have exhausted most nations, Islamism twice in Charles Martel's life renewed its attempt on France. As often this indefatigable and skilful warrior stemmed its fierce torrents,

[12] These great officers are frequently mentioned, in the ancient histories of the Franks, long before Pepin. By Gregory of Tours, l. 9. c. 30.; by Fredegarius, c. 18. p. 123. 125, 126, &c.; and by Aimonius, l. 3. c. 91. c. 92, &c. While the Frankish kings were active and able, the Maire du Palais, or Major Domus, is rarely noticed. As the Sovereign withdrew himself from public business, the minister became prominent and powerful, till he superseded his master.

[13] This important invasion is recorded by Regino, abbot of Pruim, who lived in the next century; and by Roderic of Toledo. The latter mentions the length of the battle, and that Charles Martel had increased his army from the nations of Germany, c. 14. Regino, in his Chronicle, states, that the Arabs came out of Spain with their wives and children, as if certain of conquering and settling in Aquitain. He makes 375,000 of them to have fallen in the struggle. Script. Germ. 1 Pistor. p. 18.

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torrents, and in the end, aided by the Lombards, drove the turbaned fanatics over the Pyrenees[14], never to repass them again.

Preserved from Mohamedanism, it still remained to be determined, whether Europe was to be pervaded by Christianity, or by the fierce warlike idolatries already alluded to, which then prevailed from the Rhine to the Frozen Ocean and the Bosphorus; idolatries not upheld by inactive nations, careless of their tenets or their power, but professed by people ardent in their defence, and equally warlike, enterprising, and populous.

and subdue the Pagan Saxon Republics,

Of these hostile powers, the great Saxon republics, which in twelve independent states spread from the Elbe to the Rhine, first met the conflict. Their paganism was distinguished by a splendid temple and venerated hierarchy. Their power was the result of their zealous confederation, directed by a war-king[15]. Their favourite worship was the Irminsul, who was carried to their armies, their palladium and god of battle. His rites were martial and sanguinary[16]. As the Franks moved into Gaul, the Saxons pursued their progress, and occupied the regions they abandoned. They had been frequently repressed by the French rulers; but by the time that Charlemagne acceded, their population, restlessness, and national unity, had so much increased, that the contest with the Franks, for domination in Europe, became both inevitable and perilous. A war ensued; than which, says the secretary of Charlemagne, the Franks never endured any more obstinate, more fierce, and more difficult. The Saxons maintained it for three and thirty years[17]. The talents and perseverance of Charlemagne at length

[14] Regino, Script. Germ. The Arabs had attacked France before, had entered Narbonne, and besieged Tholouse. Rod. Tol. c. 11.

[15] 2 Anglo-Saxons, p. 9. Krantz. Hist. Sax. l. 2. c. 2.

[16] Some of the chief circumstances of the idolatry of the continental Saxons may be found in the History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii. p. 19—22.

[17] Eginhart de Vita et Gestis Caroli-magni, p. 4. Vet Script. Germ. Reub. Han. 1619. Wittichind was the Saxon war-king who maintained the contest against Charlemagne.

length succeeded, and Saxony was so effectually reduced into the forms and habits of civilization[18], that a century after its conquest, it became the bulwark of Europe against two of the other barbarous systems which then attempted to subdue it.

and repress the Avari

The next great warfare which he waged in Germany, the most considerable in the estimation of his minister, after that with the Saxons[19], was directed against the Avari on the Danube. These people had fled out of Tartary, from the victorious Turks, and, obtaining a settlement between the Danube and Greece, had multiplied into a formidable barbaric population, which frequently insulted[20] and endangered Constantinople itself, and had even ventured to approach France[21]. In conflicts rarely equalled for their destruction, he broke their power, and precluded their predominance in Europe[22].

and Northmen.

His last continental struggle was with the Northmen, who attempted, from Denmark, to inundate Friesland and Saxony. His decisive successes preserved Germany from their misrule[23].

Charlemagne's political arrangements.

No reign has been more important to mankind than that of Charlemagne; none has more largely contributed to the progress of civilization in Europe. He corrected his youthful ignorance by the acquisition of letters in his manly years, and amid his splendid successes[24]; and he aspired, by legislation[25] and wise political arrangements,

[18] Charlemagne, in a charter preserved by Adam of Bremen, states, that he had reduced all Saxony into a province antiquo Romanorum more. He divided it into eight bishoprics, which he subjected to the metropolitans of Mentz and Cologne. Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccl. p. 6. Rer. Germ. Linden. Francof. 1630. On the pagi or shires of ancient Saxony, see Meibomius's treatise, v. 3. p. 96—110.

[19] Eginhart, p. 6.

[20] Gibbon, v. 4. c. 42 and 46.

[21] Greg. Tours. l. 4. c. 23. c. 29.—Aimonius, l. 3. c. 85.

[22] Eginh. p. 6.

[23] Eginh. p. 7.

[24] It was in his war against the Lombards that he met Peter of Pisa teaching grammar at Pavia, and there first heard lectures upon it from him. Landi's Histoire de la Litterature d'Italie, abridged from Tiraboschi, vol. i. p. 258.

[25] The Lex Salica and Capitularies that seem to have been compiled under his directions, are monuments of his legislative care. The Lex Salica is printed in Schilter's Thesaurus, vol. 2.; and the Capitularies in the second volume of Lindenbrog. Leg. Antiq.

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arrangements, to mitigate the barbarism of the Continent. He built several cities; he established bishoprics; he founded abbeys; and, imitating the ancient policy of Rome, he partitioned his conquests into provinces, and committed them to the care of governors from his own court, whom he entitled dukes, counts, and marquises. The dukes had the supreme command of the military force, and the government of the province. The counts were their companions or assistants. The marquises had the superintendence of the marches or borders. These great officers, after his death, gradually established a permanent inheritance in the territories they ruled; and from among these, arose the great dukes and prelates who became the lay and ecclesiastical electors of the German empire[26]. These political arrangements kept open so many channels of intercourse with the supreme government at Paris, through which all the improvements which France attained, flowed also in Germany; and the common origin of the Frankish governors imposed by Charlemagne, began that political union by which its various states afterwards attained a national independence, domestic liberties, and exterior safety.

He revives the Empire of the West, 800.

The two other great events introduced by Charlemagne, the revival of the Empire of the West, and the establishment of the Pope in territorial sovereignty, essentially affected the future fortunes of Europe. Crossing the Alps, the Frankish king annihilated the kingdom of the Lombards; and the Pope, emancipated and aggrandized by his liberalities, crowned him Emperor of the West[27]. This dignity invested him with the sovereignty of Italy, where he pursued his accustomed policy of establishing Frankish dukes and marquises. Under this new political condition, many little principalities, states, and cities, arose, attaining independence amid

[26] A duke of Bavaria, and another of Suabia, are mentioned in the old Frankish historians before the time of Charlemagne. [27] Gibbon, v. 5. c. 49.

amid the civil feuds of the larger dignities, and prospering by commerce and arts into great domestic and maritime power.

The conquests of Charlemagne were rather the results of a succession of political exigencies, than of an ambition of universal dominion. His wars with the Saxons were the legacy left him by his father, and imposed upon him by their restlessness. His subjection of Italy was in obedience to the earnest solicitations of the Pope, the venerated head of his religion, and of the people groaning under the tyranny of the Lombards. His hostilities with the barbarians of Europe, the Slavi and Danes and Avari, were the consequence of their aggressions on his frontiers. He was urged on from conquest to conquest by the necessities of the day; and his victories were, for the most part, instrumental to the progress of human welfare.

9th Century. Irruptions of the Northmen on Europe, 832—911.

His reign had scarcely closed, before those irruptions of the Northmen began, which filled Europe with desolation and terror during the ninth century. So numerous and so powerful were the predatory votaries of Thor and Odin, that they drove Alfred from his throne; besieged Paris, invaded Italy, and ravaged in the best provinces of France for thirty years[28]. If the genius of Alfred had not subdued them in England, the conquest of this island would have given them a military position and a multiplication of means, which might have changed the fortunes of France and Italy. But, conquered by him and his descendants, they became in England useful auxiliaries to the national population. Their dreaded warfare was reduced to maritime piracy; and in France their successes ended in the colonization of one extorted province, Normandy, from which they afterwards transmitted sovereigns to England; with whose accession its history in this work will commence

The

[28] Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. Books 3. & 4.

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Germany and Italy become independent of France, 888.

The Son of Charlemagne had, by a mild and useful reign, fostered all his institutions and improvements. The subsequent divisions of his family weakening its foreign power [29], enabled the dukes and bishops, marquises and counts, of Germany and Italy, gradually to assume independence and fixed territorial dignities. Their connection with the supreme Imperial government at Paris, for nearly a century, and the establishment of judicious laws and municipal systems thence resulting, imparted to Germany all the social and political advantages which were then valued or understood. This progress effected, the external domination of France was permitted to decline; and the weak conduct of the last French king of Charlemagne's family, having deprived the dynasty of all respect, the subordination of the German and Italian states to the government at Paris was broken up. Italy harrassed itself, with supporting the rival pretensions of two of its great lords [30] for imperial sway, in contests which, however, were favourable to the growth and freedom of the trading and maritime cities; while Germany, no longer a satellite, began a new course of political existence with its own vigorous and independent chiefs. In the tenth century, they chose an emperor among themselves in Conrad the duke of Franconia, who, dying after a short possession of his dignity, magnanimously recommended his rival, Henry duke of Saxony, to be his imperial successor, as the sovereign most competent to confront the perils, which his sagacity perceived to be impending [31].

At

[29] The slaughter in the great battle at Fontenay in 841, between the contending Princes of the blood, so weakened the Frankish nation, that it was unable to maintain its external empire. Regino mentions the effect of this exhaustion, p. 41.

[30] These were, Berenger and Guy. Luithprand, in his History, l. 1. c. 6.—c. 12. details their contests, and in that detail furnishes us with an authentic picture of the state of Italy at that period. Luithprand was born at Pavia, became bishop of Cremona, and went twice an ambassador to Constantinople. His History was written about the year 960.

[31] Luithprand reports the dying address of Conrad, in which he urged the election of Henry,

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10th Century.

Hungarian devastation of Europe, 900—955.

At the accession of Henry, another portentous crisis was arising upon the Continent, from one of the idolatrous and savage states that had last entered Europe: These were the Hungarians[32], a branch of the great Turkish Tartarian stock, who had possessed themselves of the territories of the Avari, whom Charlemagne had nearly destroyed[33]. They were slumbering in their barbarism, unknown beyond the Raab and the Danube, when Arnolph, who had acquired the Imperial crown, which was now departing from the Frankish race, at the close of the ninth century, in order to gratify a selfish object, unclosed the barriers which had excluded them from Germany, and stimulated and invited them to enter it[34]. The consequence of his anti-social policy was danger and desolation to almost all Europe for above fifty years. The struggle between barbarism and civilization was again renewed; and the most improved regions of the West bled in the conflict, and trembled at its issue.

The Northmen were yet afflicting France, prowling around England, and, as well as the Saracens, were distressing Italy; the pagan Sclavonic tribes had now spread to the Elbe, and were hanging, like the dark clouds of a bursting tempest, over all the northern frontier of the interior of Germany, when Hungary began to pour those myriads of armed savages[35], more ferocious, because less

Henry, though then in arms against him; an instance of self-conquest and patriotism rarely witnessed. c. 7. p. 10. Otto, the father of Henry, had refused the imperial dignity, from his age, before Conrad was chosen. Godef. Viterb. Chron.

[32] Gibbon states the Turkish descent of the Hungarians, vol. 5. p. 548. Their national and Oriental name was Magiar. They entered Hungary in 884, which was then loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian tribe, whom they drove into the narrow province that bears their name.

[33] Eginhart remarks, that the battles of the Avari with Charlemagne had been so numerous and bloody, that Pannonia (Hungary) which they chiefly inhabited, was left vacua omni habitatore. p. 6.

[34] Luithprand, l. 1. c. 5. p. 94.

[35] Regino describes them with true Tartar features: their waggon houses covered with skins; their perpetual wanderings with their flocks; their dislike of agriculture and fixed habitations; and their skilful use of the bow and arrow in war. l. 2. p. 65.—Dr. Clarke, in his Russian Travels, has inserted a Drawing of the Khibitka, or Tartar waggon house, vol i. p. 302.

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less civilized, than any other that had yet attacked [36], which, for above half a century, carried rapine and destruction from the Danube to the Rhine and German Ocean, to the Maes, the Moselle, and even to the Po. No part of Germany escaped, and Italy was as grievously afflicted [37]. Christianity would have been again brought into peril, as well as the civilization which she had produced, if the Hungarian Tartars could have continued their incursions. The extent and success of their ravages display their numbers and their energy. They are mentioned to us by their contemporaries with feelings of horror, that prove the dread which they diffused. The language of alarm sometimes approaches the exaggeration of Oriental metaphor [38]. It was fortunate for Europe that a monarch of Henry's talents possessed the Imperial sceptre. The new and formidable danger excited him to measures, which not only averted the evil, but also greatly benefited Germany. Its population was then living, like the primeval Greeks, in scattered villages, which fell an easy prey to these ruthless invaders. As the most effectual protection against their incursions, he drew one-ninth of the German nations into towns, which he fortified [39]; a policy which accelerated all their improvements, while it guarded their safety, and the actual process by which Cecrops and Theseus began

[36] Otto Frisingiensis, describing them as so immanis and beluina, as to eat raw flesh, and drink blood, adds, that it may be believed, because in his time the Scythian nations, whom he calls Pecenati and Falones, eat the raw flesh of horses and cats. Chron. l. 6. c. 10. Dr. Clarke's account of the Calmuck food is similar to this. V. 1. p. 237. 333.

[37] See Luithprand, Regino, and Otto, on these invasions. Lambertus Schaffenburg, Hermannus Contractus, and Sigebertus Gemblacensis, whose Chronicles are in the first Volume of the Collection of Pistorius, may also be consulted.

[38] The monk who continued Regino's Chronicle, says, their numbers were so immense, that unless the earth should open and swallow them, or the sky fall and crush them, they might truly call themselves invincible. p. 79. They ravaged also towards the Hellespont; and one of their warriors struck his battle-axe into the golden gate of Constantinople. Gibb. 5. p. 556.

[39] Wittichind, Gesta Saxonum, p. 13. This author was a monk of Corbey, and wrote about the year 973. Goldastus has printed the laws of Henry on this subject.

began the Athenian civilization. So formidable were the Hungarians, that he remained in these fortifications with his military force for some time, cautiously supporting a defensive warfare, because he dared not trust his inexperienced army against an enemy so fierce and active[40]. Twice they overran his native country, Saxony, with ravages that threatened its depopulation[41]. The wary emperor at last found an opportunity to chastise their invasion. His conduct and bravery, and the still greater exertions of his son, Otho the Great, ended in rescuing Europe as well from their desolations as from the hostilities of the Slavi. In repeated battles, both the Hungarians and the Slavonian tribes were defeated with such slaughter, as would have exhausted less populous states[42]. The Slavonians recovered from the blows, to struggle afterwards for the power and predominance of their idolatry, which began to unite itself with the polish of civilization. But the Hungarians experiencing an immense destruction by Otho in 955, never endangered the Continent again.

Finally repressed by Otho the Great, 955.

The emancipation of Germany from France, on the election of Conrad, set the Germans free to carry on their social progress by themselves, and to accelerate the course of human improvement by their own peculiar produce and independent experience. At that period, the empire of the French, which Charlemagne had raised on the ruins of barbarism, and spread from the Tiber almost to the Baltic, and from the Ebro to the Danube, having effected the introduction of civilization into Germany, began to contract on all sides into a scanty area. Dispossessed of Italy, Germany, and

Decline of the French power.

[40] Wittichind, p. 12.

[41] Wittichind mentions that they made such slaughter and desolation in Saxony, that the wretched survivors, quitting their country, went and served other nations that year for support. p. 8. And see his further picture, p. 12.

[42] Sigebertus Gembl. mentions one invasion of these tribes in 931, in which 200,000 of them perished. p. 579. Wittichind states the same number from report, p. 14.

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and its holds in Spain; of Normandy, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Bretagne; preserving but a nominal and powerless sovereignty over Flanders, Holland, Poitou, Anjou, Acquitain, and Roussillon; the kingdom of France towards the close of the tenth century had shrunk to a state of moderate size and feeble pretensions. Its degradation was felt and resented by its subjects; and the incapacity of the reigning house becoming visible to all, both the great and the multitude in the year 987 united, to transfer the sovereignty to a new dynasty in the person of Hugh Capet[43]—the founder of that Bourbon line which the population of France, eight hundred years afterwards, began to assail upon its throne, and exiled from its soil*.

Elevation of Hugh Capet, 987.

Native Sovereigns in Italy.

The thirty Dutchies established by the Lombards in Italy, had, by the changes of successions, marriages, and conquests, diminished in the ninth century to a few great chieftains, amid whom, several independent cities and little states were gradually seen emerging into existence, and some into power. The cessation of the Carlovingian dynasty in 888, left Italy free to appoint a sovereign of its own; and among its predominating lords, two, Berenger duke of Friuli, who governed from the Julian Alps to the Adige, and Guy duke of Spoleto, which then included a considerable portion of the present kingdom of Naples, aspired to the sceptre[44]. Refusing each other's authority, they appealed to war for the decision of their competition. It was in fact the North of Italy contending

[43] Maimbourg, in his Decadence de l'empire, has given a spirited sketch of this part of French history, which Le Pere Daniel discusses in elaborate, and not uninteresting detail; unlike the tedious and wandering history of Mezeray, which neither invites perusal nor rewards it.

* And now (April 1814) recalled, on the dethronement of Bonaparte.

[44] Maimbourg's review of these incidents is concise and intelligent. The chronicles and documents collected by Muratori, present a large field of original authorities. But the best account of the history of the middle ages of Italy is in Sismondi's Histoire des Republiques Italiennes du Moyen age; a work exhibiting a greater combination of research, judgment and spirit, than has formerly appeared in the French historical literature.

contending with the South of it, for the empire of the whole. Both were alternately triumphant and defeated; and the conflict was perpetuated by the subsequent interference of other pretenders. The Italians are charged with having encouraged the continuance of the competition, from the policy of keeping two kings, to awe one by the other[45]. But the evils of civil discord were at last felt to be so disastrous, and the miseries produced by the invasions of the Hungarians were so extensive, that, in the middle of the tenth century, the Italian nobles invited the emperor, Otho the Great, to unite the crown of Italy with his German diadem, that their native provinces might have the benefit of a protector, powerful enough to defend them, and remote enough to make his government less individually oppressive. Otho was crowned at Rome in 964; and thus began that annexation of Italy to the German empire, which his successors continued, and which has never since wholly or permanently ceased.

Idolatry of Europe.

But the great effective cause of the civilization of Europe, and without which, these political changes would have been barren of useful produce, was the establishment of Christianity. The idolatrous systems of the barbarous hordes, whom we have noticed, were as unfavourable to the evolution of intellect, as they were to social comfort or security. The growth of accident in a savage state, or the deliberate invention of savage warriors and priests, they inculcated the fiercest spirit of martial hostility. That the felicity of their future heaven was to consist in quaffing their favourite beverage from the sculls of their enemies, was a religious tenet almost incredible for its absurdity, if human nature had not been always found capable as well of the lowest folly as of the sublimest elevation; but it was an opinion, that, while believed, precluded

[45] Luithprand, l. 1. c. 10. p. 99.

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precluded intellectual cultivation, and educated them to everlasting war and merciless ferocity. It was therefore with equal wisdom and philanthropy, that Otho embraced the opportunity of his military successes, to fill the provinces he controlled or conquered with ecclesiastical establishments. He, like Charlemagne, established bishoprics and built abbeys in several parts of Germany. The king of Denmark beheld Otho with veneration, and finally adopted the religion of his conqueror; and Russia having received Christianity from Greece, and even the merciless Hungarians accepting or inviting it from the Pope, the Slavonian tribes, between Russia and Denmark, were the only uncivilized and idolatrous people that in the eleventh century existed in Europe.

Beneficial effects of its overthrow.

The benefits of Christianity to Europe, in its philosophical and political consequences, were extensive and permanent. It ended the religions and the polities, which made war their principle, and cruelty and devastation both conscientious and popular. It connected the barbarous with the civilized mind of Europe, by an endearing bond, which made the more improved nations zealous and indefatigable, in communicating their attainments to the ignorance which they pitied, and which some of their philanthropical spirits endured every peril to remove. It spread enthusiastic instructors, with piety and charity in their hands, and with agriculture, the mechanic arts, and literature, in their train, over regions where knowledge and peace had never dawned, nor were likely, without it, to penetrate. Founded upon the written code, history, and prophecies, of an ancient people, whom war, commerce, and locality, had connected with the earliest and most civilized nations of the East—Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Phenicia, Persia, Greece, and Syria—it was introduced no where without awakening a curiosity after the former history of the World, of which it disclosed some of the most striking features. Comprized

in

in its own written records, and illustrated by written commentaries or controversies, it could not take root in any country without making literature indispensable to its clergy, and interesting to the people. The very custom, then attached to its worship, of being invariably in Latin, preserved and spread every where the knowledge of that language, which contained the finest produce of the human mind which had then appeared. The classical writers, whom the clergy every where studied, were an invaluable treasury of intellect, to those nations whose vernacular languages had nothing but savage war songs, perverting their feelings, and perpetuating their barbarism. While it kindled intellectual activity by its controversies and difficulties, it taught in its gentle, pure, and benevolent precepts, and in the corresponding life of its great Founder, a spirit of charity, which often divested discussion of its rancour; and a character of soul new to the wild nations of Europe. Gradually it produced a moral sensibility in the human breast, unknown to the polished sophists of Greece, or the political rhetoricians of Rome. So rapid was its progress in combining its milder virtues with the prevailing spirit of barbarous warfare, that, within a century after its establishment in Germany, that peculiar system of martial heroism and civility, which we call chivalry, arose, essentially founded on religion, disarming war, wherever it prevailed, of its most ferocious features, and producing at last that humanized conduct of hostilities, which has distinguished modern Europe. Christianity broke the fetters of domestic slavery, which ancient philosophy had sanctioned; created a taste for arts and literary fame, which the Gothic nations had despised till it appeared; combined private morals with ceremonial religion, as its necessary appendage; and fixed in the world a desire of individual and social improvement, whose activity has never ceased, whose beneficent results are every day

 unfolding;

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unfolding; whose ultimate consequences imagination can at present neither limit nor explore.

That Charlemagne, Otho, Gregory, and the other great men who spread Christianity through Europe, were not enlightened enough to anticipate all these good effects from their exertions, is unquestionable; but that they perceived, and could appreciate, many of the moral and political benefits, which the Christian faith was certain of producing, cannot be doubted by those who have studied carefully their laws, chartularies, and familiar correspondence. The zeal of piety may have animated their activity, but benevolence and wisdom concurred to excite it.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

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THE history of Europe deserves the notice of the philosopher, and the statesman, from the period of the Norman conquest. In every part, the improvement of society then began to acquire features which we can discriminate, and a vigorous growth, which has never intermitted. As the various states differed in the degrees of their civilization, their subsequent advances have been rather dissimilar, than disproportionate. But we cannot contemplate the history of each kingdom, from the eleventh century to the present, without perceiving the causes of national prosperity steadily operating in all—population increasing; manners ameliorating; mind becoming more active; knowledge and mutual intercourse multiplying; the natural instincts educating into moral feelings; the violent passions subsiding under the government of law and reason; the principles and rules of ethical wisdom becoming permanent habits of life; the power and tyranny of the great every where diminishing; the slavery of the lower orders disappearing;

towns

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towns emerging into wealth and independence; a middle class of citizens, merchants, and proprietors, every where arising; a general increase of the conveniencies to all the orders of society; and a desire, that has in no age wholly ceased, of unfolding, directing, and enlarging, the moral capacities of our nature. Some or all of these results or instruments of human improvement, may be noticed in the history of the European States, from the era of the Norman conquest; and their prolific consequences have been progressively multiplying, and are now rapidly enlarging in all.

State of Norway.

In the northern regions on the Baltic, a change was taking place, of great importance to human happiness. Piracy ceased to be either a distinction or a pursuit, at the close of the eleventh century. The last sea-king of celebrity, Harald Hardraada, had signalized his attachment to the favourite habit of his ancestors, so far off as in the Mediterranean and the Hellespont; but, becoming king of Norway, he perished under the swords of our Harold and his Anglo-Saxons, on the plains of Yorkshire[1]. The destruction of that battle so much enfeebled the power of Norway, that it never became formidable again. His son, Magnus the Barefoot, attempted some depredations on the British Isles, but he was slain in Ireland[2], and the desolating custom expired. Sigurdr, or Siward, his son and successor, was of a character so different, that he built a monastery at Bergen, and went to Palestine an auxiliary to the Crusaders, and captured Sidon[3]. Norway now took

[1] Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 482. To the actions of Hardraada, Snorre has devoted a Saga, vol. iii. p. 53—178. The Knytlinga Saga has preserved an Ode which he wrote on a Russian princess; from which Bartholin (de Causis Contempt.) p. 154. and Sir William Jones, in his five pieces of Runic Poetry, have given some fragments. He was a severe persecutor of Christianity, Adam Brem. p. 43.

[2] Snorre, in his Saga Magnusar Berfetta, vol. 3. p. 191—230. Theodoric Hist. de Reg. Norw. c. 32. p. 70.

[3] Theodoric, p. 70—73. This writer is the most ancient Norwegian historian. He flourished 1161. His little tract, De Regibus Vetustis Norvagicis, begins with Harald Harfagre, and consists of 34 small chapters. He states with truth, that he writes rudi stilo; but he is valuable for his antiquity. It

took an actual, though a humble, station among the civilizing family of Europe. Her days of piracy had been the days of her sanguinary glory; abandoning these habits, she sank to an obscurer state, proportioned to the inferiority of her soil, climate, and numerical population[4].

Denmark,

The progress of Denmark had been accelerated, by its sovereign, Canute the Great, wearing also the crown of England, in the beginning of the eleventh century. He introduced many English bishops into Denmark, to teach his subjects[5]. He connected himself with Germany, by marrying his daughter to the Emperor's son. He went through France and Italy, to Rome: and this extended intercourse with every part of Europe, was new and beneficial to his rugged Danes. Sveno Tiuffveskeg, who soon succeeded to his Danish sceptre, though exhibiting many features of still adhering barbarism, was indefatigable in advancing his own mental improvement, in correcting the morals of his clergy, and in spreading Christianity around[6]. He died in 1074. His successor, Harold, endeavoured to abolish the duel, as the decider of right[7]. And Saint Canute, who reigned after him, contributed to soften still further the

It is published with another tract of the twelfth century, on the Norwegian Efforts in the Crusades, by Kirchman, in his "Commentarii Historici duo." Amst. 1684.

[4] The most authentic history of Norway is the work of Snorre, who was born in Iceland in 1178. Norway was slowly subjected to Christianity. When Haco, whom Athelstan had brought up, attempted to introduce it, his Pagan subjects, in revenge, made him often taste the horseflesh of their sacrifices. Snorre, p. 143, 144. Near the eleventh century, Olaf forcibly established it. At the famous temple of Drontheim, he took the mallet out of the hand of Thor, and broke the idol to pieces. Snorre, p. 274. A wiser and more successful plan, was the introduction of English Missionaries. Ad, Brem. p. 32.

[5] Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccl. pp. 31, 32.—This valuable Author, who flourished in 1127, may be called the Strabo of the Baltic, at that period. He describes, in careful though artless detail, the positions and state of all the nations on this Sea.

[6] Adam of Bremen gives high and deserved panegyric to Sveno. He says, "I conversed with him, and had great part of my book from him: he was skilled in literature, and liberal to strangers. He sent preachers into Sweden, Norway, and the Isles. Christianity was by him spread far and wide among foreign nations." Hist. Eccl. p. 54.

[7] Saxo-Grammaticus, Hist. Dan. l. 11. p. 214.

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the fierceness of the Danish character, and to subject it to the influence of religion[8]. His successor, Olaus, permitted his chief archbishop, and many of his subjects, to join the crusaders at Jerusalem[9]; an incident which shews that Denmark was becoming desirous to emulate the improving nations of Europe. Her islands were well cultured, and fertile. Her continental province, Jutland, was overrun with marsh and forest, barren, and habitable only on its coasts. Some relicks of the original barbarism of Denmark still survived. Though it had abandoned foreign adventure, it allowed domestic piracy to distress its inhabitants, and consume its national strength. Its ancient fierceness of character was cognizable in the spirit of its criminals, who preferred death to blows, and made it their pride to die laughing. The whole nation abhorred tears and wailing, and never wept for a dying friend[10].

and Sweden.

In the same century, Sweden was steadily commencing the process of her civilization. English missionaries endeavoured to diffuse Christianity more extensively among its barbarous population[11]. The people long adhered fondly to their ancient idols and ghastly worship at Upsal, and made many efforts to retain them[12]; but wiser men, with patient heroism, gradually extended the Christian faith; and, before the eleventh century closed, it had nearly

[8] Saxo, pp. 214—222.

[9] Saxo, p. 223. Alb. Stad. ad Ann. 1097.

[10] Ad. Bremen, 63, 64. As Saxo's History of Denmark is built on fabulous traditions, arranged and amplified, like Macpherson's Ossian, at his own caprice, it cannot be trusted before the tenth century. After that period, his elegant but pompous narration claims our attention. He was living in 1186, to which year he brings down his history.

[11] Adam Bremen, pp. 32. and 33.

[12] They were so anxious to preserve these objects of their ancestral superstitions, that they bargained with their king, Olaf, to permit Christianity to be admitted into the other parts of Sweden, if he would forbear to destroy their Upsal temple. Ad. Brem. p. 32. The temple was gilt all over, and contained three venerated statues; Thor the supreme, Woden, and Frico. Men as well as animals were sacrificed, and their bodies hung up in the sacred grove. Adam says, that the person from whom he had his description, counted seventy-two human bodies suspended with those of dogs, even in his time; so long was idolatry retained at Upsal. The image and rites of Frico were alike indecent. Ad. Brem. 69, 70.

nearly pervaded the country. Sweden was at this time an obscure, but an advancing kingdom. It sometimes contended with the Danes and Norwegians, and sometimes with the Russians; but in effective power, its piratical expeditions having ceased, it was little known beyond the precincts of the Baltic[13]. Distinguished for the agricultural and trading spirit of its people, it abounded with honey, cattle and corn, the extorted produce of industry[14] from an ungenial climate; and in its city Birca, possessed one of the most ancient commercial emporiums of the North[15]. Yet with a singular anomaly of feeling, though pursuing traffic, and scattering its merchandise over their country, the Swedes were remarkable for the little estimation in which they held the wealth they accumulated. They undervalued gold and silver, costly trappings, and beautiful furs, but were ambitious of hospitable fame. It was a matter of warm contention among them, who should entertain the approaching guest[16]. Sweden has always been distinguished for its frugal habits, and for a simplicity of manners; the resemblance of virtue, if not its offspring. At no time of great internal power, or national vivacity, yet, always formidable when it moved, for its steady, resolute and persevering spirit, it has at several periods materially influenced the fortunes of more powerful states.

From

[13] "To our world (Germany) it is adhuc fere incognita," says Ad. Brem. p. 68.

[14] Ad. Brem. 68. Agriculture had been so early cultivated in Sweden, that one of its ancient kings had been named Tretelgia (Woodcutter) from the forests he felled. Snorre, vol. 1. p. 55.

[15] Birca, or Sigtun, was the place to which Odin is said to have first arrived in these parts. Snorre, vol. 1. p. 10. It was one day's distance from Upsal. In Adam's time it was in such total ruin, that its remains were scarcely visible. Ad. Brem. p. 70. It was a port greatly frequented. Ib. p. 18.

[16] Ad. Brem. 68. On the antiquities of Sweden, the neat and concise Sueo-Gothia of Verelius, and the Antiq. Sveo-Gothic. of Loccenius, may be read with advantage. Peringskiold, in his Monumenta, has given curious plates of the Runic Stones, Cathedral, and Tombs, of Sweden. But the History both of Loccenius and of Joannes Magnus, before the tenth century, cannot be trusted. The same objection applies to the earlier part of the Scondia Illustrata of Messenius. From the eleventh century these works are entitled to attention, and, with some discrimination, to our respect.

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The Slavi.

From Denmark to the extremity of Russia, along the Germanic shores of the Baltic, and southward into Germany, stretching in parts even to the Danube, a diffusion of Slavonic population still subsisted; warlike, barbarous, idolatrous, and peculiar. Their general name was Slavi[17]; their local or national appellations varied[18]. When the Ogors, migrating out of Siberian Tartary before the aggrandizing Turks, crossed the Tanais or Don into Europe[19], many of the Slavonic hordes fled, before the collected masses of the invading exiles, out of Russia into the adjoining districts. Some diverged into Bohemia, Moravia, Servia, and Bulgaria; some spread over Poland, Lithuania, and Silesia, and others into Pomerania and along the Baltic[20]. In the eleventh century, the population of Europe, from the Don to the Elbe, and in part to the Danube, may be considered as of Slavonian origin[21]. As they came into Europe subsequent to both the Celtic and Gothic tribes, they were the least improved, and continued the longest in their savage habits[22]. The Slavi between the Baltic and the Elbe fought the last battle of barbarous idolatry in Europe. After the improved Saxon paganism and its Irminsul had vanished; after the martial worship of Thor and Odin

[17] The origin of this word is now but conjecture. Slava, glory, has been popular, from its flattering meaning. Slovo, speech, is a less intelligible derivation, though it is somewhat countenanced by the fact, that these people call strangers by a word which signifies the dumb. See L'Evesque, Hist. de Russie, vol. 1. p. 3. Adam of Bremen says, that the regions occupied by the Slavonic population, were ten times as large as Saxony. p. 23.

[18] One of the earliest, and therefore most valuable accounts of the Slavi, is that which Adam of Bremen has inserted in his small but important Work. He says, those nearest the Elbe, were called Wagri, and their metropolis was the maritime city Oldenburg. Next were the Obodriti, or Reregi, their city Magnopolis; below them the Polabingi, with their city Ratzeburg; beyond them were the Lingones, and many others, of whom he notices the most powerful to have been the Retharii, in whose city, Rethra, was the famous idol Radigast. Ad. Br. Hist Ecc. p. 23.

[19] See Gibbon, vol. 4. c. 42. p. 227.

[20] L'Evesque, Hist. p. 6.

[21] L'Evesque gives from Nestor, the venerable and earliest chronicler of Russia, some of these territorial appellations, p. 7.

[22] All that is known of the origin of the Slavi, is, that they came out of Asia. But conjecture has made them people Media; and even the Trojans and the Venitians have been supposed to be of their race. L'Evesque, p. 4. Some of these conjectures deserve examination.

Odin had been overturned; after the Hungarian had abandoned his savage habits, the Slavi maintained the struggle with Christianity even to the twelfth century; and, from the fury of their hatred to its cause, and from the vigour of their military character, might have endangered its predominance, if the Imperial house of Saxony had not produced such men as Henry I. and Otho the Great, to have withstood them[23]. The favourite idol of their tribes in Pomerania and near the Baltic, was Radigast. In a splendid temple, surrounded by a lake, his image of gold reclined upon a bed of purple, and was believed to be oracular[24]. But the most remarkable anomaly among the barbarism of the Slavi, was their famous republic and emporium, the rich and envied Jomsberg, situated in a small island near the mouth of the Oder. In the eleventh century it was the greatest city in Europe. The modern Wollin stands on its site. It had been improved by its commercial habits into some civility; its manners were benign and hospitable; it centered all the trade and all the riches of the North; Greeks condescended to visit it; it contained every thing that was rare and luxurious; it had even the Greek fire. But the Japonese have not been bitterer enemies of the Christian name; they exacted of

Pagan Republic of Jomsberg.

[23] Otho first established Christianity among them, and for some time it seemed to spread. Ad. Brem. 20. But in the eleventh century, considering themselves oppressed by their Christian lords, they rose in universal insurrection; burnt all the churches, killed all the priests, and left no vestige of Christianity north of the Elbe. Ib. p. 29. They were with difficulty subdued again.

[24] Adam Brem. p. 23.—L'Evesque, from Mekhail Popof's Mythologie Slavonne, describes the principal deity of the other Slavi, to have been Peroun, the god of thunder. This idol had a silver head, with ears and mustaches of gold; his legs were iron; his body of hard wood; he was worshipped with a sacred fire, and sometimes with the sacrifice of prisoners and children. p. 47. Another popular idol was Svetovid, the god of the sun and of war, to whom human beings were burnt. p. 67. Their Prono in the middle of a thousand idols, with two or three faces, and their goddess Seva, both adored with human sacrifices, seem of Hindu origin.

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of all who wished to become citizens there, that they should lay aside their Chrisianity: and on this condition they admitted their German neighbours to their municipal privileges [25]. In the eleventh century they were flourishing in full prosperity; in the next, their city was taken and destroyed by Waldemar [26], the successful king of Denmark, to whom Saxo-Grammaticus addresses in his preface an elegant encomium. The Slavonic nations had spread into Germany so far southward, that Magdeburg had been one of their capitals, till Otho conquered it, and made it a Christian bishopric [27].

The branches of the Slavonic population that afterwards became most prominent in the history of Europe, were those who colonised Russia, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, and the adjacent countries. We will take a cursory glance at their national condition, and effective rank and influence in Europe, at the period we are considering.

Russia.

The Slavonian hordes who occupied Russia [28], had roved about its vast regions with little government or laws. In the fifth century, accident, or some Northern Theseus, not now distinguishable in the mists of antiquity, had collected a stationary population at two distant spots,

[25] Adam has described this famous Pagan republic with great candour, p. 20. It is frequently mentioned by Snorre. Chrytæus has given us an elaborate description of it in his Metropolis; which Stephanius has extracted, and accompanied with the account of Munster, in his excellent Notes on Saxo, p. 197. Their great Idol was called Triglaff, or the three-headed god. By the first head they thought heaven was protected; by the second, the earth; by the third, the ocean.

[26] About the year 1170. They never recovered from this blow; and with them the Slavonian idolatry expired.

[27] Helmoldus, a Christian Presbyter, who was living in 1170, has left us a Chronicon Slavorum to that year, valuable for its facts. It is published by Lindenbrog, in the same volume with Adam of Bremen.

[28] The derivations of Russia cited by the Baron Herberstein, whose Commentaries L'Evesque commends, are, from Russ, a prince of the Poloni; from an ancient town of the same name, near the modern Novogrod; from their colour; or from Roxolanie. But he tells us, that the people of Moscow assert, that the ancient appellation was Rosseia; and this in Russian means, dispersion, or dissemination. This term is so descriptive of their early scattered and nomade state, that it seems entitled to attention. Rer. Muscov. Script. p. 1. ed. Franc. 1600.

spots[29], Novogrod on the Ilmen[30], and Kiow on the Dnieper[31], which became celebrated for their commerce, wealth, and comparative civilization. Other collections of society gradually increased from villages to towns; and the Russians began to be distinguished from their Tartar neighbours, by fixed habitations. In the ninth century, some of the Scandinavian Vikingr, or Sea-kings, who were roaming the Baltic and the German Ocean in search of plunder or kingdoms, were invited to Novogrod, and soon reached to Kiow[32]. Their government began the political existence of Russia as a nation. They tried to bring its rude population around from the habits of animal life, to social and moral cultivation; and they succeeded in forming, from the nomade tribes, a state of warlike power.

The enterprising spirit of the Grecian merchants had early penetrated to the Dnieper. Novogrod had become known to the Greeks as a commercial station, in the ninth century[33]: Kiow was so flourishing in the eleventh, that it was called the rival of Constantinople[34]. A footway had been tracked, by the same period, from the

[29] On these see L'Evesque, 73—78.

[30] Novogrod increased to such power, that it became a proverb to say, "Who will dare to attack God, and Novogorod the great?" L'Evesque, p. 78.

[31] This river was also called Borysthenes. This name seems pure Slavonian; Bor, being a pine forest, and Stena a wall, it implies a wall of pine trees: and the topographical fact is, that the shores of this river are lined with vast forests of pine trees. L'Evesque, p. 6.

[32] This was Rurik and his companions. They were invited from the Waregi, who seem to have been the Wagri already noticed as a Slavonian tribe. Herberst. Comm. p. 3. The name of Rurik sounds as of Gothic origin; and as the Swedish Vikingr are often noticed as invading Russia (Verelius Sueo Goth. p. 48. and Loccenius, p. 50.) his Scandinavian origin, as Mr. Gibbon assumes, or his Swedish origin, as others have supposed, is not improbable.

[33] Its trade with Constantinople is mentioned by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetes. Its name implies, the new city; and the ruins of the ancient town have been thought to be observed in its vicinity. Ib.—L'Evesque, 77.

[34] Adam of Bremen gives it this name. He says, that, sailing from Sleswick or Oldenburg, you will in fourteen days reach Ostragard Russiæ, cujus metropolis civitas est Chiue æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani. p. 24.—The authority quoted by Gibbon, c. 55. p. 564. places, in 1018, three hundred churches there, and eight markets.

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the Baltic to Greece[35]; and several places in that sea were frequented by Greek adventurers[36].

Becoming united into a nation that was perpetually multiplying the number of its stationary population, the Russians in the tenth century were led to invade the Grecian provinces, both in Europe and Asia Minor[37]. These hostilities produced an intercourse with the Greek empire, which led to the adoption of Christianity in Russia[38], and to the introduction of as much of the Grecian arts and literature as a nation so rude could receive, and perhaps as Greece, then fast declining, could impart[39]. But Russia became little known as a kingdom to Europe. It sent indeed ambassadors, and sought marriage alliances with the Emperors of Greece and Germany, in the eleventh century[40]; and Jaroslaf, who died 1054, and had added Livonia and Red Russia to his dominions, was both studious himself, and had Greek books copied and brought to Kiow, and established an academy at Novogrod with three hundred students[41]. But this dawn of light soon vanished; stormy periods extinguished it; independent

[35] Ad. Brem. p. 66. Sed barbaræ gentes—hoc iter impediunt.

[36] As Bornholm, and Curland, Ad. Brem. p. 66; and Jomsberg, ib. p. 24.

[37] In 904, 941, and 971.—L'Evesque, pp. 100. 110. and 132. He gives a copy of their treaty with the Greeks in 912, from the ancient Chronicle of Nestor, pp. 102, 103. It mentions fines "according to the Russian law;" which shews that they had began to have laws.

[38] In 986 Vladimir, surnamed the Great, who had attempted to appease his Idols by human victims, and had raised a great statue at Novogrod to Peroun, his god of thunder; sent ten of his wisest subjects to study the religions of other nations. They heard without interest the worship of the Mohamedans in Bulgaria, and of the poor Latin churches which they found in Germany; but the superb cathedral and splendid rites of Constantinople excited their admiration, and their recommendation induced Vladimir to make Greek Christianity the religion of Russia. Poor Peroun was tied to a horse's tail, and dragged to the Borysthenes, beaten all the way by twelve stout soldiers, with heavy bludgeons; he was there thrown into the stream, amid the contemptuous exultations of his former votaries. L'Evesque, 148—155.

[39] The specimens of the paintings introduced into Russia, from Greece, published by Dr. Clarke, in his Travels to Russia, induce us to suspect that the Grecian artists were then in the humblest state; and we know that Grecian literature was, in that age, of a very inferior class.

[40] L'Evesque, 165. Lamb. Schaffen. 159.

[41] L'Evesque, 193.

pendent princes arose up in various parts of Russia, usually obeying the great chief at Kiow or Novogrod, yet often contending with him or with each other[42]. The Russians, occupied in these feuds, or with their immediate neighbours, and the Tartarian hordes, abandoned the literary progress which they had attempted to begin, but for which their habits and political state were then unfitted. They lost their rank in the general march of European civilization, from the pressure of external exigency, and the averting effect of incompatible manners; and they disappeared from the history of Europe for some centuries, to acquire those mental and moral peculiarities, and that national position, which would qualify and enable them at a future day to appear upon its political theatre, as effective agents in events by which the welfare and progression of society would be protected and accelerated.

Courland.

The people of Courland were in the eleventh century noted for their cruelty and their augurial impostures[43]. In the contiguous province of Estland, they adored serpents and birds, to whom they sacrificed human victims[44].

Prussia.

Prussia, which in the eleventh century extended from Courland to the Vistula, was in the occupation of another branch of the Slavonic stock, the Prusci. Distinguished by their blue eye, ruddy face, and flowing hair, from the Tartar population of Europe, they exhibited a singular mixture of fierce and civilized feelings. Safe in their inaccessible

[42] The Baron Herberstein contrasts the conduct of the Russians, with their neighbours the Tartars and Turks, on a defeat. The Russian pursued or taken, neither defends himself, nor asks for mercy. The Tartar thrown from his horse, and wounded, defends himself with his hands, feet, and teeth, to his last breath. The Turk, when he sees no chance of escape, throws away his arms, joins his hands, and humbly asks for mercy. Comment. p. 37.

[43] It is a ludicrous exposition of human weakness, to read that these barbarous people were consulted by all the world, for their divinations, especially by the Spaniards and Greeks. Ad. Brem. p. 66. We may hope that he has inserted a rumour for a fact.

[44] Ad. Brem. 66.

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inaccessible marshes, they defied hostility, and would endure no domestic sovereign. Their hatred of Christianity was implacable. They destroyed the missionaries who came to instruct them, and thought their groves and fountains polluted by the approach of a Christian foot. Yet, unlike a barbarous nation, they were celebrated for their humanity towards those whom shipwreck or piracy had distressed. Too rude in their habits to use gold and silver, they despised them, and willingly exchanged the precious furs of their native animals for homely but comfortable woollens[45]. It was the twelfth century before they adopted the religion of civilized Europe; and it was then imposed, by military missionaries, with a violence at which reason and humanity revolt[46].

Poland.

Bordering on the Prussians, was the population of Poland; in the ninth century obeying a king, in the eleventh governed by an aristocracy subordinate to the German empire. It had received Christianity, and supported eight episcopal sees[47]. Its origin was Slavonian; and its language still proves this relationship.

Bohemia.

The Bohemians of the eleventh century[48] had sprung from the same race. They were subjected to the German empire, and to the outward forms of Christianity. But their general manners were

[45] Ad. Brem. 67. He places the Prusci in Semland, which strictly is the name of the province of Samogitia, and is loosely applied to include the contiguous country of ancient Prussia. That they drank the blood of their flocks, is hardly reconcileable with Adam's intimation, that they have many things laudable in their manners.

[46] The Prussians were still in Paganism when Helmoldus wrote, for he says that all the Slavonic nations, except the Prussians, had assumed Christianity. p. 1. Hence they were the last European nation that abandoned their idolatry.

[47] Helmoldus, p. 1. Chron. Slav. Incert. p. 203. Radevick, the Canon of Frisingen, who wrote 1157, describes the Poles as remarkable for their fierceness and pugnacity. Surrounded by barbarous people, they imbibed a portion of their atrocity, and were as faithless to their chieftains as they were to their relations. Rad. de Gest. Fred. p. 477. Script. Germ. Urtisii.

[48] The first known inhabitants of Bohemia were the Boii, a Celtic tribe, who were expelled by the Marcomanni, a German nation. Between the fifth and ninth centuries, the Slavi entered the country; and from them the Bohemians of the middle ages arose. See the judicious dissertation prefixed to the Scriptores Rer. Austriac. published by Pez. pp. lvii—lxii. Lips. 1721.

were so fierce, that, like the Poles, they were stigmatized for the cruelties of their warfare. They spared no persons or places. The sepulchres of the dead, as well as the monastery and the church, were violated by their rapine and fury. Their friends suffered as much as their foes, and hence their military assistance was rarely required [49].

Moravia, &c.

Moravia was peopled by a Slavonic race, occasionally intermixed with the varying hordes who overran Austria. The Carinthians were of the same descent; but they are praised at this period for their superior piety and integrity. Their vicinity to Italy and Greece, had probably produced an earlier cultivation of their mind and manners [50].

The barbarous chorography of Europe may be terminated with the Slavonic nations. The rest was in a better state.

Hungary.

Within fifty years after the Hungarians had received that blow from Otho the Great, which ended their wasteful irruptions, the European world was astonished by the news, that the chieftain of Hungary, and his people, had resolved to adopt the Christian faith [51]. That the nation, reviled as monsters, with dark complexions, deep eyes, and of a low stature [52], and whose ferocity and desolations had filled every part of Europe with mourning and misery, should exhibit a change so sudden and so total, produced an extraordinary

[49] Helmoldus, pp. 3 and 4.

[50] Helmoldus, p. 3. His Work is a chronicle of the chief transactions of the Slavonic nations, that had been most involved in wars with the German empire to the middle of the twelfth century. He then leaves the Slavi with the general character, of preferring piracy to agriculture, and of living in huts made of interwoven branches of trees. When war pressed them, they hid their valuables in pits, and sent their wives and children into the woods or fortified places, leaving nothing but their miserable cabins to the vengeance of their enemies. c. 13. p. 91.

[51] Gisla, the sister of Henry duke of Bavaria, who became Emperor in 1003, had been married to this Hungarian Sovereign, and produced his change of mind. Sigeb. Gembl. 592.

[52] Otto Fris. de Gest. Fred. l. 1. c. 31. Their habitations were rarely of wood; usually of reeds. Ib.

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dinary sensation. The Pope sent a splendid crown[53] to their chief, with the title of king, and perseveringly laboured to introduce ecclesiastical instructors and establishments. Europe, roused by the intelligence to a spirit of wonder and piety, began that habit of pilgrimage, which pervaded all classes in the eleventh century. The same event also contributed to the adoption of the Crusades, by opening a passage by land to Constantinople and Asia, through which the main armies marched.

Austria.

Contiguous to Hungary lies Austria, the latinized name for Oester-reich, or the Eastern kingdom[54], which, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, was under the government of marquises[55]. As most of the fierce nations that appeared in those parts had effected settlements in it, the population of Austria had been fluctuating; and, as each left some remains, it became at last a promiscuous race[56]. A few beams of Christianity had entered it so early as the fifth century, from Italy, and slowly increased; but, in the tenth, a rapid dissemination began, which never ceased till the whole of Austria was pervaded by this civilizing faith[57]. The Marquisate of Austria had been established in the tenth century[58]. The third marquis, Albert the Victorious, amplified his territories

[53] Cette celebre couronne royale dont ou a toujours couronné ses successeurs. Maimb. Hist. de l'Emp. 189.

[54] Pez. Dissert. p. 34. In some of the old chronicles it is called occasionally Hunnia, Avaria, Ostro Gothia, Pannonia, and East Bavaria. Otto Frising. calls it, Orientalis Marchia, the Eastern March or Marquisate, or Pannonia superior. Berthold mentions it as Austria, or the East Kingdom. Ib. p. 31

[55] Its chief, Henry the 1st, had already given himself this title in 1150, and 1155, for in one charter he styles himself Dux Orientis, in another Dux Austriæ. But it was not till 1156, that the emperor actually raised it to a dukedom. See Pez. p. 31—33.

[56] Pez. takes considerable pains to trace these changes in both Upper and Lower Austria, and its Bohemian provinces. He shews that Boii, Vandals, Huns, Heruli, Rugii, Goths, Lombards, Bavarians, Slavi, and Hungarians, had successively overspread it. And he adds an eloquent peroration on the contrast of the high state of civilization to which Austria had risen, in the last century, with this barbarous and motley origin. p. 64.

[57] See Pez. Dissert. 4. p. 65—79; who has the sense to reject the tales of St. Peter's disciples visiting it.

[58] The first marquis was Leopold, son of the count of Bamberg, who had been betrayed

territories by the expulsion of the Hungarians in 1018, and governed them till 1056[59]. Frequent wars between the two nations continued, with mutual injury and mutual improvement. In the middle of the twelfth century, the Marquisate of Austria terminated its long subordination to Bavaria, and was made an independent Dukedom, struggling slowly into social order and political consequence[60].

Bavaria.

The Bavarians, of Celtic origin[61], had been so long in the country they occupied, that their precise descent became ambiguous, and their civilization extensive. The political organization of Charlemagne had marshalled their growing population under Frankish chieftains of his own appointment, whose example and judicious measures eradicated the wild customs they had retained, and trained them into the habits of regular society. Under the government of dukes, they formed a constituent and active portion of the Germanic Empire.

Holland, &c.

Holland, Friesland, Flanders, and Brabant, had slowly advanced into dukedoms, earldoms and lordships, amid perpetual sufferings from piracy and war. Their marshes and forests long impeded their improvement[62]; but the necessity of cultivation at last produced

betrayed and beheaded in 905. Pez. p. 89. Henry the 1st appeased the resentment of Leopold, by appointing him marquis of Austria in 935; a grant of as much danger as dignity, from the vicinity of the dreaded Hungarians.

[59] Otto Fris. l. 6. c. 15. Chron. Mon. Mell. p. 222—225.

[60] In 1139, Leopold the marquis of Austria possessed himself of Bavaria. His son Henry kept the acquisition till 1156. Bavaria was then restored to the duke of Saxony; Austria was made a Dukedom, and some counties of Bavaria were annexed to it. Chron. Mell. 230—232. In 1178, Henry was succeeded by his son Leopold, who went to Jerusalem in 1182. He visited it again in 1191, and in 1194 had our Richard Cœur de Lion his prisoner. Chron. Mell. 235.

[61] Their ancestors were the Boii, mentioned by Cæsar, l. 1.; by Tacitus de Mor. Germ.; by Livy, Dec. 1. l. 5.; by Polybius, l. 2. c. 17. They had passed into Germany from Gaul: driven out of Bohemia by the Marcomanni, they settled in Bavaria, which from them assumed its name, Bajoaria.

[62] In the time of Cæsar, the Batavian islands were inhabited by wild and barbarous nations,

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duced it; and the extraordinary exertions which the position of their country required, led them to a superior degree of agricultural skill. From the seventh century they began to adopt Christianity from the tuition of English missionaries[63]. Their chieftains were sometimes subordinate to the French, and sometimes to the German power[64]. In the eleventh century, the commercial conveniencies of their situation began to be perceived; and as the commerce of Europe increased, Flanders had more than its proportionate share. But the yet romantic state of its semi-barbarous manners, may be inferred from the adventures of one of its chieftain's family at that period[65].

Germany.

An important era in the civilization of Germany, may be dated from

nations, some of whom he says "are thought to live on fishes and the eggs of birds," l. 4. c. 7. A description that reminds us of the miserable state of the natives of New Holland. The Ardenne forest then reached from the Rhine and Trevi into France, being 500 miles long. Cæsar, l. 6. c. 27.

[63] Willebrod, and some other Anglo-Saxons, went to Utrecht in 690, to preach there, under the protection of Pepin. His friend and fellow-missionary, Boniface, says that he laboured there for fifty years, caused the Pagan temples to be abolished, and converted great part of Friesland. He founded the See of Utrecht, and died 739, like another Schwartz, in extreme old age.

[64] In the Batavian and Belgic provinces, were the five Dukedoms of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelderland; the seven Earldoms of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur and Zutphen; and the five Lordships of Friesland, Malines, Utrecht, Overyssell and Gröningen; and the Marquisate of Antwerp: in all, seventeen provinces. Some of these became united to the house of Burgundy, and fell at last to the house of Austria by the marriage of Maximilian I. with the Burgundian heiress.

[65] Baldwin, count of Flanders, had two sons: he reserved his eldest for his heir. To Robert, his youngest, he gave ships, money, and provisions, for a long voyage, and bade him go to foreign parts, and "if he was a man," to get a kingdom or a fortune for himself. The youth sailed towards the coast of Spain, to gain a throne in Gallicia. He landed on some unknown coast, and, beginning to plunder, was attacked and defeated by the natives, with the loss of almost all his followers. Returning home, he was contumeliously received by his father, and driven out, with new military supplies, to seek his fortune again. He sailed to more distant parts, but a fatal shipwreck frustrated his hopes. He escaped almost naked, and followed a train of pilgrims to Jerusalem. Invited by some Normans to attack Greece, he attempted, but failed in his effort. Getting back to Flanders, he tried a nearer booty, by attacking Friesland. He was twice repulsed; but the inhabitants, seeing him desperate for some settlement, at last submitted to him. Lamb. Schaff. 182, 183. ed. Pistor.

from the accession of Henry IV. in 1056[66]. An emperor at five years old, we may reasonably believe that the vices of youth were prematurely ripened, and abundantly displayed in the first portion of his reign. The defects of the national character concurred with his own to produce a crisis beneficial to the moral progress of his empire, and severely corrective of his errors [67].

The vast territories which Charlemagne and Otho had annexed to the sees which they established, were of small political importance in their days, when every province was half a wilderness, and its population was as scanty as its culture. But so rapidly had the human species increased under systems of social order, and so productive had been the labours of a wiser cultivation, that the German bishoprics had become princely states, and the abbeys wealthy domains. Their abundant affluence and effective power converted the ecclesiastics who held them, into worldly politicians and voluptuaries [68]. Their sacred uses were forgotten. They were shamelessly purchased for their profit, by men who were clergy but in name [69], or given by the emperors, as splendid provisions, to their relations and dependants. This disposition of ecclesiastical dignities constituted that crime of simony, so fatal to the moral and spiritual uses of Christianity, and often extending to the Papacy itself;

[66] The Saxon line had failed in 1002, in the grandson of Otho the Great. In 1024, the house of Franconia acquired the dignity in Conrad the Salic, who died 1039; when his son, Henry III. the father of Henry IV. succeeded.

[67] Bruno of Cologne, with a pen of severity, and perhaps of exaggeration, paints the vices of Henry, in his contemporary History of the Saxon War, published by Freher among his Germ. Script. p. 100; who has added, as an antidote, an apologia for Henry, written about the same time, pp. 154—236. Reinecius edited another Life of Henry, by a panegyrical contemporary: It is printed by Lindenbrog, after Helmoldus. Several letters of Henry follow.

[68] Adam of Bremen has given us a specimen in the Archbishop of Bremen, one of the ministers of Henry, pp. 48, 49; with which Bruno's satirical account may be also read, p. 101.

[69] Lambertus Schaffn. another contemporary, has transmitted to us flagrant instances of this, pp. 184. 186. b. 1. Hist. Germ. ed. Pistor. Boniface had, in a preceding century, complained of this prostitution of ecclesiastical dignities in Germany. Mag. Bib. Pat. v. 16. p. 106.

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itself; which councils and Popes had attacked in vain[70], and which brought Henry IV. into a personal and calamitous collision with Gregory VII. This stern, ardent, and aspiring character, connecting his virtue with his ambition, determined to arrest the evil, against which in a humbler station he had struggled. He boldly plunged into that warfare with Henry, which shook him from his throne, forced him to an humiliation unknown to Majesty before[71], and which, continuing beyond his own days, at last achieved a cessation of the mischief, though, by exalting the power and pretensions of the Papal See, it endangered the subjection of Europe to a debasing system of unwise superstition.

The political state of Germany was then sufficiently disastrous. Mutual depredations and warfare were popular habits[72]; and the Emperor increased the general suffering, by building castles on the hills and mountainous passes, from which his knights pillaged with impunity on all the neighbouring domains[73]. But the moral character of the nation was of a low rank. A Contemporary thus describes the Germans of that day:—"Inconstant, and faithless; neither governed by benefits nor fear; drinking, their delight; quarrels, fighting, and blasphemy, their perpetual practice. The crimes committed in their intoxication, they laughed at on the morrow. Perjury they deemed a trifle, blood-shedding a praise, and unchastity scarcely a subject of blame[74]." But as we ascend above the eleventh century, these barbarous features gradually diminish. The intercourse and wars of the German emperors in Italy, and their expeditions through Greece to Asia, slowly disciplined the sons of Tuisco into a love of literature, into the habit of the

[70] Maimbourg has drawn an able sketch of this subject, and the subsequent contests. Hist. Decad. t. 1. p. 307—325.

[71] See Maimbourg's interesting narration of his visit to the Pope.

[72] Lamb. Schaff. p. 187.

[73] These circumstances are asserted by Lambertus, pp. 189. 191. Bruno details the same fact, with additions, p. 105.

[74] Adam Brem. p. 55.

the most necessary social virtues, into national rank, and wise internal legislation.

A Grecian colony having settled at Marseilles, some centuries before the Christian era, and always maintaining an affectionate intercourse with its parent nation, had studded the South of France with its peculiar civilization[75]. The rest of its population was Celtic, under the sacerdotal influence of the Druids, till the Romans introduced their government and colonies, and till the Franks on the North, and the Burgundians on the East, overspread the country with an additional population. The Celtic language and manners disappeared from all parts, except Armorica or Bretagne, where the British refugees found a congenial home, and established several petty kingdoms and lordships. The rest of France, on the decline of the Carlovingian family, exhibited four great divisions, of language, race, and manners: Its northern provinces, full of the German race; the midland country, where a mixed Latin language and people prevailed; and the southern states, which were distinguished for their Provençal and Troubadour language; while the Northmen established a Scandinavian race in Normandy. But at the period of the Norman conquest, France was moulding into two great divisions of language; that which, from our own connections with it, and from its chief cultivators, we call Norman French; and that which is popularly called the Provençal, a peculiar and not ungraceful language, the probable parent of the Italian poetry, if not of its tongue, which is still cultivated in its original seats, and which seems to have relics that are yet worthy to be explored[76].

France.

At the Norman conquest, the Dukes of Normandy had made their

[75] Boulay, in his History of the University of Paris, gives a full collection of original authorities on the Grecian and Roman civilization of France; and though sufficiently desultory and undiscriminated, yet is worth an attentive inspection.

[76] See the history of our literature, in the second part of this Work.

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their province but a nominal feudatory to the French sovereign. The rulers of Burgundy, Bretagne, Flanders, and Acquitain, were little more; and were able to maintain at times an actual independence. Besides these, France abounded with counts and dukedoms, which, though acknowledging the king at Paris as their feudal lord, were paramount in their own domains. These powerful and independent feudatories were too weak, from their own perpetual quarrels, to endanger the French sovereign; but neither was his power sufficient to annex their possessions to his crown. After the eleventh century, however, this became a settled object of the policy of the Parisian government. The example of our Henry I. was steadily followed by his friend Louis the transmarine; it was pursued amid all the fluctuations of the national prosperity; and Philip Augustus, the rival of our Richard I., by his wise administration, laid a deep and solid foundation for that absorption of all the French sovereignties into one great monarchy, which Louis XI. and Cardinal Richlieu at last effectually accomplished[77]. In the eleventh century, however, the king of France was but a feudal king, surrounded by sovereign liegemen almost as powerful as himself, always resisting his encroachments, and frequently defying his authority. That the addition of England to Normandy did not give our Norman sovereigns the crown of France, arose from the inherent military defect of the feudal system, which operated as strongly to enfeeble the great feudatory as his superior lord; and, reducing war to little else than temporary depredations, preserved each other from permanent conquest.

Italy.

The sovereignty of the German emperors in Italy precluding the

[77] The original authorities important in this period, are, the Abbot Suger's Life of his master, Louis le Gros; and Rigordus de Gestis Philippi Augusti. These, with the long Latin hexameter poem of Guillemus Brito, also a contemporary, are printed in the Historia Francorum, published by Pitheus, Frankf. 1586.—The Recueil of Bouquet is that extensive publication of the body of the ancient French historians, which we, who are so carefully publishing our ancient records, ought not to be without.

the establishment of any native king, whose power would depress all other authority by his immediate locality, was favourable to the rise of independent territorial chieftains, and of free and powerful cities. The general remoteness of the emperor, and the difficulty of preserving the submission of a country so distant and so dissimilar to his German provinces, compelling him to govern by opinion and management, rather than by command, nobles, sometimes created by himself, established in many parts a princely hereditary power. To counteract their influence and diminish the effect of their hostility, the imperial policy willingly increased the municipal privileges and independence of the principal towns, that the interests of the citizens and the contiguous chieftains, being usually in competition, the subordination of both to the sovereign authority might be more permanent[78]. This was, in fact, a part of the system by which every sovereign in Europe laboured to curtail the power of his feudal nobility. In Italy, it had the happy effect of fostering into political maturity several free states and independent cities, who enlightened the middle ages of Europe by their glory, their arts, their commerce, their literature, and their freedom. Of these, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, became great maritime republics; and Pavia, Milan, and Florence, acquired warlike celebrity. In the eleventh century they were gradually forming; and it was the careful study of the papal policy to encourage their resistance to the imperial authority, and to promote their ultimate emancipation. The celebrated wars of the Guelphs and Ghibelines[79], which so long distracted Italy, were the contests between the papal and imperial partisans; and their general result was, the establishment of the Italian liberties, and the evolution of the Italian genius and literature.

But

[78] Sismondi's authorities cited, and his intelligent remarks on this period, deserve perusal. vol. i. p. 91—104.

[79] The Guelphs were of the papal, the Ghibelines of the imperial party.

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Normans in Naples.

But one of the most striking events of the eleventh century, was the establishment of a Norman dynasty in Sicily and Naples[80]. Some Norman pilgrims having been invited by a Greek fugitive into Italy, the attention of this enterprising people was directed to those parts: and the Arab power tottering in Sicily, from its intestine divisions, a body of adventurous Normans first established themselves in Apulia, under Robert Guiscard, between 1054 and 1080; and in Sicily, at no long interval afterwards. Their aspiring chief even ventured, not only to menace, but to assault Constantinople. Their extraordinary dominion lasted in Naples and Sicily till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when their dynasty experienced the fate of those which it had subverted.

The Pope.

The Papacy, which was in an enslaved and degraded state during the tenth century, and part of the next, was roused to a new and portentous ambition, by the aspiring projects of Gregory VII.; and his plans were vigorously pursued by his successors. Its arrogated power was beneficial for some time to the morality and civilization of Europe, and began to decline as the necessity for its existence diminished.

Spain.

While Spain seemed inundated with a Mohamedan population, a small society of Christian warriors, sheltering themselves in the mountains of Asturia, gradually multiplied into a petty state. The first name that arose to distinction, or that has survived to us in tradition, for valorous resistance in this district, to the Moors, was Don Pelayo: and, amid the exertions of his successors, the little Christian kingdom of Leon arose[81], and a temporary one at Oviedo. All who were discontented with the religion or government of

[80] See Gibbon's Hist. vol. 5. p. 580—644, 4to ed. Ordericus Vitalis, a contemporary of Guiscard's successor, may be also consulted.

[81] The precise dates of the first foundation of these Spanish kingdoms, are not now to be ascertained. But Pelayo's actions, the subject of Mr. Southey's late poem, may be placed in some part of the eighth century.

of the Moors, fled, as their best asylum, to the mountainous country in the north of Spain; and by the tenth century another Christian kingdom, Navarre, had emerged from the Pyrenees[82]. In the strong positions among the mountainous ranges in the north of Spain, or amid the protection afforded by the vicinity of France, other little Christian states were formed, under the counts of Barcelona, Castile, and Arragon, which gradually swelled into importance and power, frequently distressed and even occupied by the Moors on their occasional victories, but at length penetrating, by slow progress, into the Mohamedan territory.

The beginning of the eleventh century was distinguished by the reign of Don Sancho the Great, in the kingdom of Navarre. All the Christian states in Spain, excepting the kingdom of Leon and the earldom of Barcelona, became subject to his power. At this time a line drawn from Valencia to the mouth of the Douro, will mark the division of Spain between Islamism and Christianity[83]. The larger, more fertile and affluent regions, to the south, were Mohamedan; the less fertile and populous districts, on the north, were occupied by the Christians. Don Sancho, at his death in 1034, divided his dominions among his four children, with the title of kings: To Don Garcia, Navarre and Biscay; to Don Ferdinand, Castile; to Don Ramiro, Arragon; and a smaller state, rapidly absorbed in the rest, to another[84]. Ferdinand soon added Leon to his crown of Castile; but separated it on his death in 1065, by bequeathing them distinctly to his two sons[85]. Wars ensued between

[82] The history of Navarre in the Modern Universal History, is plainly but carefully written, and states the leading facts, vol. 22. p. 390. Navarre has had two derivations: Erria, a Cantabrian word for land; and Nava, a spot of ground cleared from wood, or Nava, a pass or valley environed with rocks: Nava-'rria, a cleared country, according to one, or a country of passes, according to the other derivation.

[83] Mod. Univ. Hist. Castile, vol. 20. p. 37. and of Arragon, p. 433.

[84] Mod. Un. Hist. vol. 22. p. 417.

[85] Ib. Leon and Castile, vol. 20. p. 51.—It

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between all these related kings, which occasioned a frequent fluctuation of their dominions and successions. But amid these struggles, the Spanish Christians educated themselves to that superiority of military talent and vigour, which at length enabled them to subject the Crescent to their sway. Their ascendancy began at the close of the eleventh century, and never ceased to be progressive.

Enervated by their luxury, discordant from native restlessness, divided into many kingdoms, and weakened by the inherent vices of the Mussulman polity[86], the Spanish Moors began to feel the superiority of the Christian states. Their greatest hero, after those who had before attempted France, was Mohamed Abenamir Almançor, who, animated with peculiar fury at the Christian name, made prodigious efforts to extinguish it[87]. He died as the eleventh century began, and Christianity in Spain was essentially endangered no more, although the Emperors of Morocco added to the Arab part of the Peninsula the force of their African dominions[88].

Portugal.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, the kingdom of Portugal was formed. Henry of Burgundy, a French knight, received from Alphonso of Leon and Castile, for his services in Spain, the countries south of Gallicia, with a commission to extend their boundaries, and defend them against the Mohamedans. Many Christians,

It was in Don Ferdinand's reign that the celebrated Cid appeared, who is briefly mentioned by the old Spanish historians. The true and fabulous history of this warrior appears in the curious Chronicle of the Cid; of which, Mr. Southey has given us an interesting translation. Appended to this are some extracts from the more ancient poem on the same hero: "The oldest poem in the Spanish language, and as decidedly, the finest." Southey's Pref.

[86] Mr. Southey has ably stated the defects of the political and moral systems of Mohammed, in his Introduction to the Cid, pp. xix—xxi.

[87] "The frontiers of Castile he turned into a desart. The city of Leon he took, and, after putting the inhabitants to death, burnt it to the ground. He also sacked and destroyed Barcelona." Mod. Un. Hist. Navarre, p. 409. He was at last defeated by the king of Leon, "and, refusing to take sustenance, he expired at Medina Celi, and with him the fortune of the Cordovan Moors." Ib. 411.

[88] Cardonne's History gives the fullest and best account we have, of the Arab kings of Spain.

Christians, who had obtained a miserable shelter among the mountains, came down to settle in the plains, under his protection [89]. By degrees, his power was established in the provinces north of the Douro. His son Alphonso, the first king of Portugal, acceding in 1112, extended the Christian sceptre into the southern districts, assisted by the Crusaders and by many English adventurers [90].

Such was the state of Europe at that period, when the Normans resolved on the invasion of England, and, by its successful issue, connected the British Islands with the general history and general interests of the Continental Powers.

[89] The history of Portugal, in the Modern Universal History, displays the same patient and useful labour, of collecting authentic facts without any attempt at composition; which demands praise, though it may not invite readers. For the primordia of Portugal, see vol. 22. pp. 3—13.

[90] Mod. Un. Hist. ib. 20—30.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. III.

ORIGIN OF THE NORMANS; THEIR ACQUISITION OF NORMANDY; PROGRESS OF THEIR CIVILIZATION; THEIR NATIONAL CHARACTER: STATE OF ENGLAND AT THE TIME OF THEIR INVASION.

CHAP. III.

IN the Norman history, we contemplate the interesting spectacle, of a barbarous people civilizing themselves with unexampled rapidity, and then improving a nation—our own—that had long been more civilized than its teachers. The progress deserves our attention, as it gives us a splendid instance of one of the processes by which the improvement of the world is made to advance, amid all the perversities of human nature, and the casualties of human affairs.

Rollo leaves Norway.

The picture, exhibited in a preceding Work, of the fierce spirit and habits of the Northern vikingr and sea-kings[1], may be here recollected, as the description also of the Normans, on their first arrival in France. With the same stern and sanguinary idolatry, the same love of plunder and devastation, the same unsparing cruelty,

[1] Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. i. p. 205. 4to.

cruelty, and savage indifference to human slaughter, and with the same aspiration to be the subject of Scaldic song, Hrolfr, Rollo, or Rou[2], and his associates, left the Baltic, at the end of the ninth century, to seek homes or booty elsewhere. Son of the favourite Jarl of Harald Harfagre, and long distinguished for his piratical expeditions, he happened to pillage a district, which Harald had added to his kingdom, and on which he had interdicted piracy[3]. Not even friendship for his father could appease the wrath of the king of Norway, for the practise of an evil custom, which he was resolved to extirpate in his own dominions. Hrolfr the great-walker was banished. His mother in vain solicited his recal. The fair-haired Harald was inexorable[4].

Driven from his paternal home, Hrolfr resumed his depredations without restraint. His conduct was popular: his exile increased his celebrity; and, his reputation continually multiplying his followers, he enlarged both the scene and the magnitude of his expeditions. He roved among the Hebrides; he ventured to Flanders[5]; and even attempted England[6], but, repelled by the genius of Alfred, he remembered the triumphs of his countrymen in France, and sailed boldly thither to renew them.

He attacks France.

The attacks of the Northmen on France were one of the great political causes, by which the empire of Charlemagne was dissolved,

[2] In Snorre's Haralld-Saga he is called Gangu Hrolfr, or Hrolfr the Walker, because he was so large and tall that no horse could carry him. c. 14 p. 100. His name is Rollo in the Latin works of the Romans, and Roul, and Rou, in their vernacular language. Thus Wace says,

Ai jeo de Roul lunges cunte
e de sun riche parente.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[3] The successive conquests of Harald Harfagre are the subject of the Harralld Saga of Snorre. His youthful victories led him to make an oath, that he would never comb his hair till he had conquered all Norway. In ten years he accomplished it. The father of Rollo then cut and combed his ragged locks, and called him Harfagre, or Fair-hair. Snorre, vol. 1. pp. 78 and 99.

[4] Snorre, p. 100.

[5] Snorre, p. 101.

[6] Asser de Gestis Alfredi, p. 28. Dudo, p. 71.

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solved, within less than a century of its duration. Assaulted first by ferocious bands, among whose leaders a name somewhat similar to Ragnar Lodbrog[7], the famous scald and sea-king, appears, it was, after his death in Northumbria, invaded by his son, Biorn, the Iron-ribbed, under the military tuition of Hastings, the Danish warrior, who had struggled so long with Alfred for the occupation of England[8]. For nearly thirty years, Hastings and the Northmen made this great country the scene of a merciless warfare. He laid in ashes almost all the regions from Flanders to Poitou, and harassed Paris with a siege, in which it had nearly fallen his victim[9]. The fancy of conquering Rome, and thereby becoming the emperor of the world, at last inflamed his savage mind; and he proceeded to Italy, where he wasted too much of his military force to be formidable again[10]. But he had levelled the road, and shewn the attainable prize; and when Hrolfr, or Rollo, discomfited in England, was looking round for a more accessible booty, the kingdom of France, still smoking from the devastations of his countrymen, invited his approach.

The power of Charlemagne, and the greatness of France, had been shaken by the suicidal hands of the French themselves. It was in 841 that they met on that dreadful day at Fontenay, in which, supporting the disgraceful competition of three brothers, almost all

[7] See Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. i. p. 221.

[8] Ibid. pp. 269—283.

[9] Dudo, in his first book (Du Chesne Script. Norm. 61—67.) states the desolations of Hastings, but with a profusion of declamation that obscures what he intends to express. He composed his work at the request of Richard the 1st. who died in 1002, and with whom it ends. It is intermixed with Latin verses of all species of metre, and interlarded with Greek words. But his poetry has neither grace nor perspicuity.

[10] Will. Gemmeticensis Hist. Norm. l. 1. p. 220. This author's History of the Normans is in the first part a judicious abridgment of Dudo's Rhetoric; though he refers also to original authority for his facts, as in p. 248. His subsequent books carry on the history not only to William the Conqueror, to whom he dedicates it, but even to Stephen. This latter part is suspected to be a continuation by some other Monk. His style is plain, concise, and clear.

all the French nobility and warriors perished[11]. The awful lesson of that struggle was given in vain, and new civil factions arose; when the Northmen were permitted to profane a soil, where both filial and paternal piety, effective religion, and domestic tranquillity, had been alike proscribed.

Obtains Normandy.

Rollo tracked the course of his ruthless precursors. He defeated the French armies, besieged Paris for four years, took Bayeux[12], and began to ravage whatever Hastings had spared. At length, all hope of expelling him by force having expired, it was suggested by the counsellors of the French government, to propose to him the cession of a country for himself and his companions, in full property and sovereignty, yielding only feudal homage to the crown of France. Rollo, after some hesitation, with the consent of his chieftains, acquiesced in the proposition; and that extensive district from the Epte to the Sea, which was afterwards called Normandy, was ceded to his power, with the title of duke, and the hand of the fair Gisla, the French king's daughter. The pacification arranged, the ceremony of the homage only remained. It was necessary to kneel, and kiss the king's foot; and this the proud pagan disdained. The prelate who attended the king, declared, that a gift so magnificent deserved his compliance. "I will never," exclaimed Rollo, "bend my knees to the knees of any man, nor kiss any man's foot." Unfortunately, this was the ancient mode of feudal homage, and could not be dispensed with. The frankish nobles solicited him in vain. At last, as a substitute, he ordered

[11] The destruction of this battle is frequently alluded to by the old Chroniclers, as by Regino, l. 2. p. 41.; Sigeb. Gembl. p. 564. ed. Pist.

[12] Ordericus Vitalis, l. 3. p. 459; another Norman monk, who has composed a copious and ill-digested Ecclesiastical History, desultory, incoherent, and tedious, yet full of curious facts, with some proportion of legendary fable. He was born in 1075. His work extends, in thirteen books, to 1141, in the reign of Stephen, and closes with a short account of himself.

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ordered one of his knights to do the ceremony for him. The knight revolting, like his master, at the degradation, murmured, and obeyed; but, instead of kneeling, he seized the royal foot, standing upright, and carrying it suddenly to his mouth, threw the king on the floor[13]; a contumelious indignity, which, on such an occasion, a haughty savage only could have offered.

Northman character.

In the age of Rollo, the great feature of the Northman character was a love of glory, pursuing its gratification by an assiduous cultivation of bodily strength, agility, and manual dexterity; and combining, with the most daring intrepidity, ferocity and warlike fortitude. To climb steep and towering rocks, and to descend from them rapidly with a heavy burthen; to walk on the margin of a ship, and even outside of it, on the oars, while the men were rowing it; to use both hands alike, and throw two darts at once; to play with three swords, with that correctness of eye, that one should be always in the air while the others were caught by the handles; were accomplishments of dexterity coveted even by their kings[14]. To hew well with the sword, to wrestle, to cast heavy weights, to run in skates, to sit firmly on horseback, to swim with vigour, to dart the lance with skill, and to manage dexterously the oar, were also their warriors' boasts[15]. Vigour in archery was an emulation of excellence; and they proved their strength by sending a blunted spear through a raw bull's hide[16]. All these qualifications proceeded from the great actuating principle of the Northman mind, the love of personal distinction and public admiration.

Their

[13] Dudo, p. 84, describes this scene; and Gemmeticensis, p. 231, alludes to it.

[14] Olaf Tryggvason, the celebrated sea-king, is thus described by Snorre, Olaf Saga, vol. 1. p. 290.

[15] "We hewed with our swords" is the triumphant opening of every stanza of the Lodbrog-quida. For the other qualifications, see the ode of Haralld Hardraada, the king of Norway, who perished in England, from the Knytlinga Saga; and the History of Grymer, in Mallet's North. Antiq. vol. 2. pp. 238 and 249.

[16] Snorre, vol. 2. p. 19.

Their fondness for war was their national inheritance, and first paternal lesson. It had long been the custom of the Northmen to send their children, as soon as they could wear armour, to seek their fortunes by their swords; and to this practice their piratical depredations are ascribed by the Norman historians[17]. So rooted in their habits was this spirit of warfare, that even in the second century of their occupation of Normandy, and after Christianity had humanized their manners, their priests and bishops still carried arms like the laity, according to the ancient custom of their nation[18].

Love of war.

Such were the first Normans, who in the beginning of the tenth century settled themselves in Normandy; a country, from their own devastations, an unpeopled and ruined desert, abandoned to a wild vegetation, uncultivated in every part[19]. Its wasted condition induced Rollo to reject the first offer of it, as incompetent to maintain his followers without rapine; but, on a promise that Bretagne should be added, he consented to attempt its colonization[20].

State of Normandy.

A barbarous people, seated in a desolate country, might seem to promise a perpetuity of barbarism. But, however revolting to our better feelings the ravages of the wild nations we have noticed may be, they were prelusive to that happier state into which Europe afterwards emerged.

The natural state of the Continent, anterior to their irruptions, was a succession of endless forests and impracticable marsh. Even after Gaul and Germany had been penetrated by the human race to their extremities, we read of one of the forests in Gaul being 500 miles long, and of another in Germany that was sixty days journey

[17] Dudo, p. 63. The father drove out all his sons, but one, whom he kept for his heir. W. Gemm. 218.

[18] We learn this trait from the ancient Life of Herluin, the first Abbot of Bec. Vita Lanfranci, p. 53.

[19] Dudo, p. 82. W. Gemmet. 219. 231.

[20] Dudo, p. 83.

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journey in extent [21]. Flanders was in Rollo's time so full of marshes, that he refused to take it in addition to Normandy [22].

Hence, before civilization could flourish in Europe, it was necessary that its forests should be destroyed, its marshes drained, the fords of its rivers discovered, and the wild heath converted into fertilized land. The barbarous warfare of their savage state effected these improvements. The desire of security made them select the woods and marshes for their collective habitations, because, either least accessible in approach, or most defensible against attack. The destruction of their villages was therefore the annihilation of the incumbering forests; the burning of the country was the fertilization of the soil; and the approach or the pursuit of enemies compelled bridges and roads to be fabricated, and the watry places drained. It was the dreadful invasions of the Hungarians, which, compelling the German populations to live in towns, occasioned the commencement of their social improvements.

The wasted state of Normandy was not only favourable to the growth of the Norman mind, by presenting no luxuries or corrupting vices to weaken it; but it made wisdom in the chief, and industry and constant exertion in his followers, indispensable to their existence. It compelled them to be an agricultural as well as a warlike people. The general poverty was auspicious to the preservation of the general liberty; and wise and equal laws became essential to the welfare of their poor and busy and fierce community. The character of their chief was suited to the exigency; and Rollo, like Romulus, by his prudent regulations, began the improved character and prepared the triumphs of his rapacious countrymen.

Rollo imitates Harald Harfagre.

Rollo was the son of a Norwegian chieftain, distinguished for his

[21] Cæsar de Bell. Gall. [22] Dudo, p. 83.

his wisdom [23], and lived at the period when the ablest sovereign that had then appeared in the Baltic was beginning the civilization of Norway.

It was the great object of Harald Harfagre to colonize the depopulated parts of his dominions, and to withdraw the active energies of his subjects from piracy to agriculture and domestic quiet [24]. He had even established an outline of the feudal system in Norway. He declared all the landed property of the country to belong in sovereignty to him, and received an annual payment from each proprietor, as his demesne lord. He appointed jarls over every province, with the power of collecting his revenues, and administering the laws; and he divided each jarldom into subordinate tenures, which he called Herseri, analogous to our baronies, with a condition of military service. Whenever the king went to war, every jarl was to send him sixty knights, and every herser twenty, maintained at their own expence [25]. He prohibited piracy under the severest penalties.

Rollo's wise measures.

Rollo, banished for opposing some of these improvements, had the wisdom to feel their importance, and to adopt them in his new domain. He divided the country among his chieftains, afterwards called Barons, and distributed proportionate allotments to his followers, by the measurement of a rope, from whom military service was exacted. He rebuilt the cities; reploughed the country; and invited settlers from all parts [26]. The very fierceness of his nation compelled him to a strict and sagacious legislation. Accustomed to pillage, the abolition of robbery and theft became essential to the continuance of their social union. A steady justice in

[23] Snorre, p. 84. His father, Rognvalldr, was popularly called, The wise and powerful One. The sober and precise narration of Snorre, on this subject, enables us to understand the loose declamation of Dudo.

[24] Snorre, c. 20. p. 96. [25] Ib. p. 80.

[26] Dudo, p. 85.

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in his own conduct, and an inflexible rigour towards all offenders, gradually produced a love of equity and subordination to law, among his own people, which mainly contributed to their future eminence. Under his administration, Normandy is declared to have had neither thieves, plunderers, nor private seditions[27]. He became himself celebrated for his equity[28]; and his subjects rapidly increased in number and prosperity. The adoption of Christianity as his national religion, powerfully accelerated all his legislative exertions, by enlightening both himself and his countrymen, and gradually awakening their moral sensibilities.

His Successors.

The succeeding dukes, William, the two Richards, and Robert[29], the father of the English conqueror, were all able princes, who frequently subdued the Bretons, and repelled the aggressions of the French monarch. When pressed by their formidable neighbours, they invited new adventurers from the Baltic, who augmented their military population and national strength[30]. Environed with danger, their warlike energies had no leisure to abate; and from their perpetual exertions, the Normans became distinguished in Europe for their skill in war[31].

Norman Improvements.

From the joint effects of situation, exigencies, wise legislation, and Christianity, they had so improved within 150 years after they had quitted the Baltic, as to compel this high national character from an historian of the country which they had most afflicted: "Their

[27] Dudo, p. 86.

[28] The president Henault acknowledges this circumstance, in his useful abridgment of the French History.

[29] Rollo died 917.
His son William died 943.
Richard I. died 1002.
Richard II. died 1026.
Robert I. died 1035; when his son William II. acceded.

[30] W. Gemmet. 246. 254. Wace, in his Metrical History of Normandy, has inserted a notice of this circumstance—

Richart ki volt sun dreit tenir
De Danemarche fist venir
Daneis e bons combatturs
Ki lui firent si grant sucurs.
MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[31] Malmsbury, Hist. p. 174. mentions this in the passage, in which he praises the Flemings for their pleasing features, and the French for their superior courtesy.

"Their dukes, as they were superior to all others in war, so they as much excelled their contemporaries in their love of peace and liberality. All their people lived harmoniously together, like one great body of relations—like one family, whose mutual faith was inviolable. Among them every man was looked upon as a robber, who, by falsehood, endeavoured to overreach another in any transaction. They took assiduous care of their poor and distressed, and of all strangers, like parents of their children; and they sent the most abundant gifts to the Christian churches, in almost every part of the world[32]." When to this high encomium we add, that emulous love of glory, which authors of the middle ages declare to have been the most active principle of the Norman mind[33]; their beginning love of literature[34]; that spirit of enterprise, which led them to Italy and Greece; and that fervent piety[35], which produced a general decorum, and lasting steadiness of moral character; we see a people formed for lofty achievements and national celebrity.

It is remarkable, that a vein of civilization had begun to run through their first barbarian character. Even before they left the Baltic, they bathed frequently, and cut and combed their hair[36]. They loved gorgeous ships and splendid garments[37]; a taste created by their successful piracy. And by the time they invaded England, they shaved their beards, so as to seem like Priests to the Anglo-Saxon

[32] Glaber Rodulphus, c. 5. pp. 8, 9, gives this encomium.

[33] Malmsbury remarked this striking trait, which is one of the principal subjects of Bartholin's book on the causes of their contempt of death, who gives many instances of their vehement passion for fame.

[34] See the instances of the literature and studies of the Normans, in 1050, and afterwards, in Ordericus Vitalis, pp. 462. 464. 468. 470. 473. 477. & 485.

[35] On their religious feelings, see Ordericus, pp. 460. 463. 465. 468. 480, &c. On their conquest of Apulia, see W. Gemm. 284; and Ord. Vit. 472. 483.

[36] Snorre, p. 99. Hence Harald, persisting to be uncombed till he had become Monarch of Norway, was called at first, Lufa, or horrid hair, till he submitted to have it reformed, p. 100.

[37] Snorre, passim.

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Saxon spies[38]. They were enviably nice in their dress, and delicate in their food to excess[39].

It was in the year 1066, that this aspiring people sailed from Normandy, to attempt the conquest of England, which during six hundred years the Anglo-Saxons had been occupying.

State of the Anglo-Saxons.

At that period, the Anglo-Saxons, originally the fiercest nation of the predatory North, had become changed into a submissive and unwarlike people, by the united influences of property and luxury, of a great landed aristocracy, and a richly endowed hierarchy. But their condition was rather degeneracy than civilization. Their sovereigns were men of feeble minds; their nobles, factious and effeminate; the clergy, corrupt and ignorant; the people, servile and depressed. All the venerated forms of the Saxon institutions existed, but their spirit had evaporated. They had still their witena-gemot; their eorles, ealdermen, thegns and gerefas; their gilds and borhs; their shire-gemots, hundreds, tythings and wapentakes; their payments to their lords were fixed and definite; their burghs were increasing in population; their freed-men were multiplying; and their lands were subject to the ferd, or military expedition, an effective obligation for the national defence[40]. But, amid all these means of prosperity, an intellectual torpidity had since the days of Athelstan pervaded the country. Canute had indeed impressed a new feature of grandeur and energy on the aspect of the court; but his example was solitary and transient; his children and successors had disgraced his name; and after his death, the Anglo-Saxons sank into a lethargic and sensual state. Their slothful and illiterate clergy, imbibed and augmented the general degradation: and the finest island of Europe was becoming the residence of a debased, divided, and ignorant people.

England

[38] Malmsbury, p. 100. [39] Ib. p. 102.

[40] On these topics, see the last volume of the History of the Anglo-Saxons.

England was slumbering in this declining state, when the Norman conquest, like a moral earthquake, suddenly shook its polity and population to their center; broke up and hurled into ruin all its ancient aristocracy; destroyed the native proprietors of its soil; annihilated its corrupt habits; thinned its enervate population; kindled a vigorous spirit of life and action in all the classes of its society; and raised from the mighty ruins with which it overspread the country, that new and great character of government, clergy, nobility, and people, which the British history has never ceased to display, and which, in the progress of this Work, it will be attempted to elucidate.

Effect of the Norman Conquest.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. IV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

1066—1087.

CHAP. IV.

PERSONAL resentment concurred with ambition, to stimulate William to the invasion of England, when Harold, violating his oath, had assumed the crown on the death of the Confessor; and the Norman gave his aggression a personal character[1]. It was the breach of faith and perjury of Harold, that he called on his own countrymen, and his foreign auxiliaries, to punish; and in the day of the battle, this was one of the topics of his military address[2]. With his plea of right, he soothed the consciences, and with the promise of his liberality in the distribution of the plunder of England,

[1] Both the Norman writer of Poitou, the chaplain of William, in his historical fragment printed by Du Chesne, from a MS. in the Cotton Library, p. 197. and the Anglo-Saxon Henry of Huntingdon, p. 367. state William's personal irritation.

[2] Hen. Hunt. 368. Malmsbury admits the oath of Harold, p. 93. The Norman Ordericus states, that Harold swore his fealty before the barons of Normandy, p. 492; and William of Poitou asserts, that he was assured of it by most illustrious men who were present, p. 191. Harold did not deny his oath, but endavoured to justify his breaking it. Malmsb. p. 99.

England, he excited the cupidity, of fifty thousand knights[3], to attempt the arduous expedition. From all the adjacent countries, the eager adventurers gathered round him; he inspired them with his own courage and confidence: and, though his wiser counsellors dissuaded[4] him from the enterprise, he persevered. He landed; he fought; he conquered; and his reviled competitor perished in the battle[5].

He claims by legal right.

That the Anglo-Saxon nation would not identify itself with the aspiring noble, who had so precipitately obtained his election to the crown without right, contrary to his solemn engagements, and against the claims of the legal heir, had been William's principal hope. To produce this effect, he had laboured to give his pretensions the venerated character of a legal right, by asserting a solemn nomination of the Confessor in his favour[6]; and he was so confident of this ground, as to have proposed, in his short negociation with Harold before the battle, to refer the question of right to the decision of the legal tribunals of either England or Normandy[7]. That he was at first anxious to impress on the English people, that he came with a legitimate title to the crown, and that his arms were directed to punish an usurper's perjury, is sufficiently clear. His military force he thought to be competent to overcome the resistance of Harold and his adherents. But there is no evidence, and no probability, that he landed with the expectation of subduing England against the will of its inhabitants, or

[3] Guil. Pict. p. 197.

[4] Guil. Pict. ibid. And see Huntingdon's account of Fitzosberne's contrivance to obtain their assent, p. 367.

[5] Hist. Anglo-Sax. vol. 1. p. 496.

[6] The Norman assertion, that Edward had appointed William, his maternal kinsman, to succeed him, (Guil. Pict. 191. and Order. Vitalis, 492.) is confirmed by Malmsbury, p. 93. William's father was nephew to Edward's mother. And see the numerous authorities on the subject, collected in 1 Anglo-Sax. p. 464.

[7] Guil. Pict. p. 200. That Harold procured himself to be surreptitiously named king on the day of Edward's funeral, and against the opinion of a large party of the English nobles, is declared by Ord. Vital. p. 492. and implied by Malmsbury, 93. and Hunt. 367.

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or that he took the crown at his coronation by the right of conquest[8].

His caution after the battle.

The unexpected vigour with which Harold, after defeating the Norwegian invader, had with an inferior force[9] maintained against him, near Hastings, such a fierce and for some time doubtful conflict, was not calculated to increase his confidence in his success. An armed force, that filled seven hundred Anglo-Saxon ships, was still in the channel[10]; and the nation, though degenerating, was full of nobles and their dependants, who, if their patriotism had been equal to their power, might have soon renewed a battle which he had won with difficulty and great loss[11]. It may have been, from these considerations, that his first measures, after his victory, were cautious and hesitating. He did not immediately advance with decision and celerity to London, pursuing victory to its fullest extent, and profiting by the panic of his opponents; on the contrary, after burying his dead, he fell back seven miles, to Hastings. He stationed a garrison there; and, instead of marching into the interior, he proceeded along the sea-coast to Romney, and thence to Dover[12]. This retroceding and circuitous movement, implies a greater

[8] In some of his charters, William expressly states, that he had assumed the crown by the right of donation. Spelman's observation, that conquereur means purchacesour, is correct. He adds, that conquestus, in old charters, denotes property acquired, not inherited. Wilkins's Leges Sax. p. 285.

[9] The fine old MS. of Waltham Abbey, in the Cotton Library, Julius D. 6. blames Harold for going to the battle so hastily, with only a modico agmine. He makes it not a fourth of the Norman army, "modico stipatus agmine quadruplo congressus exercitu," p. 101. The inequality is here, no doubt, exaggerated, though Malmsbury calls the force of Harold "pauci," and blames those who magnify it, p. 94.

[10] Harold had sent this fleet to intercept William's retreat, Guil. Pictav. 201. and Order. Vital. 500.

[11] The MS. Chronicle of Battle Abbey, in the Cotton Library, Domitian A. 2. from which Dugdale has taken a copious extract, states the Norman loss as above 10,000 men. It says, "How great must have been the slaughter among the conquered, when that of the conquerors exceeded ten thousand." 1 Monast. Angl. 312. W. Gemmet. considers the Norman loss as almost 15,000 men. Hist. Norm. l. 7. c. 36. The difficulty of the battle is obvious, from the account of Guil. Pict. 202, 203.

[12] Guil. Pictav. 204.

a greater solicitude to secure his retreat than to improve his success[13]. The surrender of the fortress of Dover, though full of men, and almost impregnable, was the first testimony he received that his attempt would experience a popular support. But, instead of again advancing, he staid here eight days, increasing the fortifications and meditating on his future progress.

Dissensions of the English.

But the inactivity of the English, arising from the dissensions, in their Witenagemot, about the choice of a successor, soon encouraged him to proceed. Great enterprises oftener succeed by improving upon the auspicious circumstances which unexpectedly arise, than from a removal of the difficulties that had been foreseen and provided for. Indeed most great undertakings are against the calculations of prudence. The mind of the bold adventurer is actuated by feelings, distinct from judgment, and of unknown origin, which urge him imperiously to his object; and to gratify the mysterious emotions, the Cyrus, the Alexander, the Mohamed, or the Tamerlane of his day, dares all the probabilities of failure, and plunges into enterprises, that are to determine the fate of dynasties and empires, and change the mind and manners of mankind. Degraded as the Anglo-Saxon character had become, yet such were the resources, population, and institutions of the country, that the invasion of William would have been as vain as that of the Norwegian king, if Harold had not fallen in the conflict, or if he had first encountered the Norman, or had not been precipitate[14]. It would have been not less disastrous, if,

[13] Hastings was seven miles from the field of battle; Romney is 27 miles from Hastings, and Dover is 19 miles from Romney. At Dover he was 14 miles farther from London than he had been when at Battle. So that by his retrograde march to Dover, he went 67 miles out of his direct road to London. This warrants our inference, that his first object after his victory, was to secure his retreat.

[14] The author of the Waltham Abbey MS. which was written about a century after the Norman invasion, though an encomiast of Harold, arraigns his precipitancy. Nimis præceps

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if, at Harold's death, civil discord had not prevented the military force of the country from being put in action against the invaders. But it was the will of Providence that England should be improved by a new dynasty, superior in intellect and moral character to the Anglo-Saxon line; and events were so governed, and injudicious councils were permitted to have such influence, as to facilitate the Norman accession, and to avert the human agencies that would have prevented it.

A victorious invader being in the country, it was the first duty of patriotism and prudence, to have filled the vacant throne with an effective sovereign. But here began the feuds to which William owed his English crown. Harold had left sons, whose subsequent exertions shewed vigour of character[15]; but they had no popular support; and their father's example of a bold usurpation, stimulated others to imitate him, instead of befriending his family. The two great men who might have maintained the Anglo-Saxon independence, were, Edwin and Morcar; the military commanders of Mercia and Northumbria, two-thirds of England. But they, instead of crowning Harold's son, or the real heir of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, Edgar Etheling, aspired to the throne themselves. Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the chief of the witena, opposed their pretensions, and supported Edgar, grandson of Edmund Ironside, unquestionably the legal heir, but a mild and inoffensive child. Had he been less inadequate to the crisis, his election might have been salutary; but his visible imbecility gave a plausibility

præceps et virtute sua presumens, He would not wait for a competent force. Hence the monks of this abbey were so sure that the issue would be unfortunate to him, that they sent two of their most respected brethren, Osegod Cnoppe and Ailric the Childemaister, to watch the battle, and, if he fell, to secure his body. p. 100.

[15] As William's interest prevailed, they fled to Ireland. Ord. Vit. 513. His brother Tosti's sons, Skuli and Ketill, went to Norway. Snorre Har. Hard. Saga, c. 103. vol. 3. p. 171.

a plausibility to the wishes of the great body of the clergy, led by the archbishop of York, who decided for the duke of Normandy. Affection to their ancient line prevailed in the witenagemot, and Edgar was made king. This appointment affronted Edwin and Morcar. Instead of acquiescing in the choice, and marching with the nobles to meet the invaders, in proud discontent they abandoned the cause of their country, and withdrew with their forces to their respective provinces; vainly fancying that no Norman could disturb them there[16]. They lived to be the victims of their sullen ambition and short-sighted selfishness.

His advance to London; and retreat.

While William remained at Dover, a dysentery, ascribed to the use of fresh meat and water, afflicted his army. At length he determined upon a movement in advance, and, leaving his sick at Dover, he marched forwards. He was soon cheered by a deputation from the people of Kent, who proffered him their fealty, and gave hostages for their good faith. When he encamped on the following day, his own health became affected, and his friends were alarmed. But it was important not to check the effusions of popular feeling, which had begun to declare themselves, nor to give the discordant chiefs an interval for union; and though his indisposition required rest, he continued his march towards London. He sent before him 500 Norman knights, who drove the Anglo-Saxon forces that came against them, back into the city, and burnt its suburbs. But, instead of besieging or assaulting the metropolis, he contented himself with patrolling awhile in its vicinity, and then, retiring from its formidable defences, he passed the Thames into Berkshire, and encamped at Wallingford, above forty

[16] Malmsbury mentions the ambition and retreat of Edwin and Morcar, and the opposition of the clergy to Edgar, whom the nobles preferred, l. 3. p. 102. Guil. Pict. p. 205. and Ord. Vit. 503. state, that Edgar was made king, but that his election was abrogated when the party for William prevailed.—Malmsbury, p. 93. also mentions that Edgar a quibusdam in regem electus est. And see Flor. Wigorn. p. 430.

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His negotiations.

forty miles distant from London[17]; a movement which evinced a desire rather to negociate than to fight.

For above two months afterwards, William employed himself with successful policy. He had conciliated the feelings of Harold's personal friends, by permitting his body, with difficulty recognized, and at first refused to his mother, to be buried at Waltham Abbey[18]. He cherished the friendship of the clergy, whom the papal favour had already attached to him. He moved detachments of his army over the counties near the metropolis, to diminish its supplies, and intimidate or weaken his opposers. His position at Wallingford intercepted the route of Edwin and Morcar to London, if they should return to more generous councils. And he at last averted the hostility, and conciliated the support of Edwin, by the promise of his daughter in marriage—a temporising promise, never fulfilled! He abstained from diminishing his force, or hazarding disaster, by an attack on the warlike patriots in the metropolis; and he calmly waited the effects of his wise negociations and increasing popularity. He reaped the whole harvest of his

[17] We derive our knowledge of these circumstances from William of Poitou, a spectator of many of the facts which he narrates. He had been a warrior of note, but afterwards inclined to study, and became archdeacon of Lisieux. Our fragment of his little tract begins with William's infancy, and ends abruptly with the death of Coxo. He emulates, but not successfully, the style of Sallust, and mentions Virgil and Statius, as if acquainted with their works.

[18] The Waltham Abbey MS. Julius D. 6. describes the circumstances attending the search for Harold very interestingly. The two monks, who had watched the battle at a distance, afterwards went to William, and earnestly begged permission to take away Harold's body. On his assent, they presented him with ten marcs of gold as a tribute of their gratitude, and proceeded to the field of the dead to find the body. But they turned over the corpses in vain. The human features are so altered by death, that they could not recognize it. They saw only one melancholy alternative; this was, to bring to the horrid place his favourite Editha, surnamed Swanneshals, or Swan's-neck. Osegod went for her, and conducted her to the dismal search. Her affectionate eye, and more familiar acquaintance with his person, at last discovered him. He was conveyed to Waltham Abbey, many Norman counts assisting in his funeral honours. This Editha is the Editha pulchra so often mentioned in Domesday.—The author of this MS. states of himself, that he was appointed a canon at Waltham Abbey, through the patronage of Adeliza, the queen of Henry I.

his forbearing prudence. Edgar Etheling took no root. The country was too disunited to maintain him against the matured and active talents of the Norman. Stigand and his other friends, who wished a native prince, finding themselves unsupported by the national energies, yielded to the exigency: they concluded an amicable arrangement, by which Edgar was deposed, and William was solemnly invited to ascend the throne. With a modesty which we must believe to be hypocritical, he hesitated to accept it; he said, the state was yet turbulent, that some would rebel, and that he preferred quiet to a crown. His secret reasons probably were, that he was not yet sure that his Norman barons, accustomed to a duke, would endure the greater superiority of a king. Their voices, however, united to intreat him to take the offered crown; they saw that their own honours and comforts would be increased by his elevation; and William acquiesced in their decision. Christmas day was appointed for his coronation; and thus he quietly obtained the splendid object of his ambition, about three months after he had entered the island[19].

He omitted no means of security. The citizens of London were courageous and formidable[20]; and to guard against any changes of their opinion, before he entered London, he sent a body of soldiers to construct a fortification within it, and to fit it for his residence. The ancient part of the Tower has been supposed to be their military work; and till it was so far advanced as to afford protection, he continued in the neighbourhood; where, says his chaplain, every thing was so tranquil, "that he might have hunted and hawked if he had chosen it[21]." He came now to the throne as the choice of the nation, and all hostility accordingly ceased.

William

[19] Guil. Pict. 205. Ord. Vital. 503. 511. Flor. Wig. 430, 431.

[20] Guil. Pict. says of London, "though it has only citizens, yet it abounds with a numerous population, famous for martial excellence." p. 205.

[21] Guil. Pict. p. 205.

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William had acceded to his dukedom at the age of eight; and his youth was harassed by the rebellion of turbulent barons, and the attacks of his powerful neighbours[22]. These difficulties had excited his mind to great activity, and had taught him and his barons great skill in warfare; but they had also produced a severe and mistrustful temper[23], which displayed itself on the day of his coronation, and led the way to that train of evils which disquieted his reign, and produced the actual conquest of the country.

His coronation, and alarm.

Westminster Abbey was the place appointed for the ceremony; but his jealous caution stationed around it bands of Normans, both horse and foot. This measure might have seemed unobjectionable, but that their hasty conduct implied that their orders had been harsh and peremptory. When the nobles and people were assembled in the church, the archbishop of York, his favoured prelate, addressed the English, and asked, if they consented that William should be their king[24]. The bishop of Constance harangued the Normans. The English answered with loud shouts of warm and gratulating acclamation. This ceremony of electing a sovereign was new to the foreign soldiery without, who, misconstruing the applauses to indicate a rebellious tumult, immediately sat the surrounding building on fire. Universal confusion and terror ensued. The bloody banquet of Hengist seemed again re-acting. The flames rapidly spread; the numerous company of both sexes and of all conditions, who had assembled at the ceremony, rushed precipitately from the church,

[22] The Metrical Chronicle of Wace, MS. in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11. contains a long account of William's birth and infancy.

[23] Sigebertus Gemblacensis, a continental chronicler of the twelfth century, characterizes him in one line, "Vir singularis censuræ et severitatis." Germ. Script. Pist. p. 602.

[24] William therefore clearly did not take the throne by right of conquest. The Norman Historians state it as an election. Guil. Pict. puts the queston, as, "Whether they would *consent*, an consentirent eum sibi dominum coronari," p. 205.; Ord. Vit. as, "Whether they would *grant*, an concederent Guillermum regnare super se," p. 503.

church, to escape the impending destruction. The prelates and a few clergy only remained, pale and trembling at the altar; and were scarcely able to complete the coronation of the king, who was himself in the greatest alarm at the unfortunate mistake[25]. He took the usual coronation oath of the Anglo-Saxon kings, to protect the church, to govern his people with justice and kingly care, to establish and keep their right laws, and to prohibit all rapine and unjust judgments[26]. The consternation at the ravages of the fire was increased by the depredations that were attempted during its progress.

Evil consequences of the outrage.

No circumstance could have occurred, more likely to establish in the minds of the English a prejudice against their new sovereign, than this unprovoked aggression. Explanation could hardly palliate its commission, because no soldiers would have ventured, at such a moment, on an outrage so destructive, unless they had previously received corresponding instructions. No professions, however true, that it was only meant to be used in case of treachery or revolt, could avert the displeasure of the people. Even in this point of view, it announced an austere and jealous temper in their king, displayed at the moment when they were giving him the highest tribute of their confidence. We cannot therefore wonder that the people were, as the Norman historian states, exasperated at it to an excess, and always afterwards beheld the Normans with mistrust, and cherished the hope of an opportunity for revenge[27]. So true it is, that suspicion tends to create the evils which it too easily apprehends!

His liberalities.

He distinguished his coronation by a more lavish distribution of the customary liberalities. The treasury of Harold contained a magnificent collection of the most valuable objects of commerce, besides

[25] Ord Vital. 503 Guil. Pict. 206. [26] Flor. Wig. 431. Sim. Dunelm. 195.
[27] Ord. Vit. 503.

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besides an ample store of money. A magnificent portion of these was given to his military companions, and a part was divided among the monasteries in the different countries. He sent to the Pope the splendid banner of Harold, with a pecuniary present unusually great; and he increased the measure of his bounty by a contribution which he required from the country[28].

His wise policy.

Having gratified the first expectations of his followers and friends, by these liberalities, he applied himself to conciliate the people who had become his subjects. He granted benefits to London, which increased its conveniencies and dignity. He prohibited all rapine and violence; he allowed no one to ask justice of him in vain; he restrained his soldiers from taverns; and extended to the female sex, the vigilant protection of the law. He was careful that the English should not be oppressed. He limited their exacted contribution by a moderate scale; he appointed suitable judges; and inculcated to all a spirit of religion and equity. With an enlarged view of the nature of commerce, he opened his ports to merchants, and commanded them to be protected[29]. And he promoted marriages between his English and Norman subjects.

He builds fortifications.

But amid all this wise and conciliating conduct, a mutual jealousy was spreading between the king and his people; and he withdrew to Barking in Essex, for a few days, till the fortifications were completed, which he was making in London, to coerce the possible

[28] Guil. Pict. 206. Wace thus describes his liberalities; which may be more correctly referred to the general policy of his reign, than to this particular moment:—

As plusors qui l'orent sui
E qui l'orent longues servi,
Dona chastels, dona citez
Dona maneirs, dona contez
Dona terres as Vavasors,
Dona altres rentes plusors.
MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[29] Guil. Pict. 207, 208. Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. p. 47. His piety, and a previous vow, led him to found a monastery on the scene of his victory. The spot chosen for this edifice, Battle Abbey, was the lower ground called the Herste, on the West side of the hill or precipice, where the chief slaughter had taken place. MS. Domitian A. 2. extracted by Dugdale, 1 Mon. Angl. p. 312.

possible movements of its inhabitants[30]. The English nobles were not however tardy in doing him homage. Many, and among these Edwin and Morcar, came to Barking for this purpose. He received their submission very graciously, gave large promises of his favour, and reinstated them in their possessions. From Essex he proceeded to various parts of his new dominions, in all places making regulations that were alike beneficial to himself and the people. The general principles of his conduct to all, are stated to have been equitable, prudent, and popular; and his kindness and gifts to his young rival Edgar Etheling, whom he even cherished in his court, display a generous magnanimity which has seldom been equalled. But, still anxious for his own security, and perhaps too visibly discovering that anxiety, he built and garrisoned castles in various places, and confided their command to foreigners, chiefly Normans, on whose courage and attachment he could rely, and whose fidelity he ensured by the grant of large possessions[31]. The presence and conduct of these garrisons considerably augmented the dissatisfaction of the country.

Returns to Normandy.

Three months after his coronation, he returned to Normandy, taking with him the English noblemen whose influence he most dreaded. He committed the care of England to his favourite William Fitz Osborne[32], dreaded for his military talents; and to Odo, his half brother, the bishop of Bayeux, who is praised for his intelligence, and who, according to the Norman custom, combined in part the soldier with the priest[33]. The king was received with transport

[30] Guil. Pict. reveals the king's feelings, when he says, "that he saw from the first that it was peculiarly necessary (necessarium magnopere) that the Lundoners should be coerced." p. 208.

[31] Guil. Pict. 208.

[32] It was this warrior who first incited William to invade England, and whose valour and counsels principally contributed to maintain his acquisition. Malmsb. l. 3. p. 105.

[33] In the ancient tapestry of Bayeux, this prelate is represented on horseback, in complete armour, but with a staff in his hand. The

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transport by his countrymen, and he repaid their attachment by his munificence. He was visited here by the regent of France, whose courtiers were astonished at the beauty of the long-haired English, and at the rich gold-embroidered dresses, and gold and silver vessels, obtained from England[34].

English suffer in his absence.

His preference of his native soil, to a country whose inhabitants he feared and doubted, led him to commit the error of protracting this, his first and early absence, to an indefinite period. Nine months were passing without any indication of return. His English subjects felt severely the evils of his absence. His Norman garrisons were, in their different positions, harassing all orders of the people, by their contumelious behaviour and unjust exactions. The remonstrances of the sufferers to the two vicegerents, were received with arrogance and contemptuous neglect; and the oppressions of the foreign soldiery became more vindictive for the complaints, and more daring from impunity[35].

Their discontent,

The continued absence of the king made the plunderers more tyrannical, and the English more desperate. Every evil feeling which was lurking in the nation, became matured. Protection from the sovereign, against injustice, was their constitutional right, assured to them by his coronation oath. The want of it made all lament the loss of a native king, and the people began to conspire to shake off a yoke, which had been made, from the royal negligence, needlessly intolerable. Many, who dreaded the miseries of ineffectual revolt, withdrew to other countries, voluntary exiles. Some of the more adventurous, even entered into the service of the Grecian emperor; delighted to meet in practicable warfare,

The words marked over him, show that his employment was to encourage the soldiers: "Hic Odo Eps baculum tenens confortat."

[34] Guil. Pict. 211. Flor. Wig. 431.

[35] Ord. Vital. though a Norman, honestly states the oppressive conduct of his countrymen, and the proud contempt of the two regents, p. 507.

warfare, the Normans, who were assailing his territories. These English auxiliaries were honourably received at Constantinople, served their new sovereign with fidelity, and finally settled in his dominions[36].

and conspiracies.

The discontented applied to the king of Denmark, the descendant of Canute, and solicited his aid. The Kentishmen invited Eustace, the count of Boulogne, a skilful and fortunate warrior, who had assisted William at the battle of Hastings, to surprise the Castle of Dover, at a time when its governors and a large part of its garrison were absent beyond the Thames. Eustace sailed over in the night, and made an attack, which the Kentishmen warmly seconded. The strength of the fortifications enabled the Normans within to make a stout resistance; and after a conflict of some hours, the count, despairing of carrying it by assault, sounded his trumpets for a retreat. As he withdrew, the garrison opened their gates, and cautiously followed. The retiring assailants misconstrued their appearance to be Odo, returning from the interior with a large reinforcement, and instantly scattered in the most wild and disgraceful panic. Some, in their blind alarm, fell headlong from the rock; some slaughtered each other; and many rolled into the sea. They who reached the ships, crowded into the nearest with such hurry, that the vessels sank with the excessive weight; while the Normans destroyed all they could overtake, astonished at their own success. The English easily escaped, because the garrison were too few to pursue. Eustace got away, and returned home[37].

The

[36] It was Robert Guiscard, who had established the Norman Dukedom in Apulia, that attacked the Grecian Emperor. He began to build, for his English allies, a town beyond Constantinople; but the Normans infesting it, he called them back into his city, and delivered to them a palace with royal treasures. Ordericus says, "Hence the Anglo-Saxons sought Ionia, and they and their heirs served faithfully the sacred Empire; and they remain till now among the Thracians with great honour, dear to the people, the senate, and the sovereign." p. 508.

[37] Ord. Vit. 508. Eustace made his peace with

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The revolt spread: and Earl Coxo, one of William's most powerful English friends, was assassinated, because he would not countenance the attempt. But the insurrections seem to have been disorderly and unconnected, and therefore ended in no change: the greatest English chieftains were in Normandy, with William, and their dependents were afraid of committing their safety. The archbishop of York, and the higher clergy, continued in their attachment to William; and a portion of the English even took arms on his side[36].

William returns.

The news of these transactions alarmed the king: he quitted Normandy in haste, consigning it to the care of his queen Mathilda, and his son Robert. He crossed a wintry sea, and reached London by Christmas. His presence, and prompt decision, checked the immediate progress of the revolt; his affability and liberality regained the attachment of many of the English nobles: and his activity suppressed a serious struggle of the discontented at Exeter, from which the mother of Harold, and the most indignant of its defenders, fled to Flanders[39].

1068. The country continuing in a state of gloomy disquiet, William, sensible of his former inadvertence, returned no more to Normandy, for several years. He sent for his queen Mathilda to England, on which

with William afterwards; and therefore, says Guil. Pict. "we shall spare him, as he now in proximis regis honoratur." p. 212.

[38] Ord. Vit. 509. The Cotton MS. of W. Poitou here leaves us, though it appears from Ord. Vit. 521. that his history was carried on to Edwin's death. He notices the revolt, with great praise of Coxo, for his fidelity to William; and with much indignation at the rest of the English: but he drops all mention of the conduct of his countrymen, which caused it. This, however, Ordericus, with honest impartiality, both records and censures.

[39] Ordericus details the siege of Exeter, 510. This desultory but valuable compiler, who wrote in 1141, among his other authorities, mentions a poem of Guido Presul Ambianensis on the battle of Hastings, and the continuation of Marianus by Joannes Wigornensis, who honeste deprompsit the actions of the Conqueror and his two sons, and which he wrote at the request of bishop Wulstan, p. 504. I have not met with these Works. He mentions the Chronicles of Marianus and Sigebertus Gemblacensis, as very rare in his time.

which he imposed a heavy taxation; and he prepared to repress disaffection with severity and decision[40].

Rebellion of the English.

His mistrust, and ill humour against his people, began to turn into aversion. He refused to Edwin the marriage he had promised; and this breach of faith determined this powerful chief, and his brother Morcar, to promote the revolt. A formidable rebellion soon appeared. A large portion of England armed at the summons of these popular leaders. The Welsh princes lent a zealous aid, and the Scotch and Danes were expected to cooperate. The insurrection was very general beyond the Humber; and the woods, marshes, and passes, were fortified by the indignant patriots. Such was their ardour, that, disdaining to repose in houses, lest effeminacy should incapacitate them from the hardy conflict they projected, they preferred to dwell in tents and forests[41].

But William had been practised in warfare from his infancy, and he knew how to wage it with celerity and effect. His movements were rapid and decisive. The English, having no castles, could not long delay his progress; and their personal bravery was unavailing against equal valour and superior skill. He marched from point to point, every where victorious and irresistible. Denmark and Scotland, intimidated by his activity and success, forbore to invade; and the king, to coerce the people whom he had now subdued, built and garrisoned castles at Exeter, Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and York. Some of the northern nobles, who had most to dread from his resentment, fled to the Scottish court, taking with them Edgar Atheling and his sisters, one of whom married Malcolm, the king of Scotland[42].

The

[40] Flor. Wig. 432. His son Henry was born this year. Ord. 510.

[41] Ord. Vit. 511. Hence the Normans called them Foresters.

[42] Ord. Vit. 511. Ordericus's character of the Scotch, at this period, is "Fierce in battle, but preferring ease and quiet: averse to being molested by their neighbours, they were more intent on religion than on war." Ib.

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The sword had now become unsheathed between the king and his people. He forgot the causes of the revolt in its pertinacity and progress; and the people, increasing in exasperation from the inflictions of his hostility, were now more than ever irreconcilable. That direful state of things occurred, in which each of the contending parties struggled for the extermination of the other. Mutual hatred reigned, with a mutual spirit of rapacity and revenge. William, provoked by what he thought an unreasonable enmity, became thenceforward the stern conqueror; and a disquieted, oppressive and sanguinary reign, destroyed his own peace, and the happiness of his people[43]. But this calamitous visitation effected, what it seems to have been meant to effect, an extensive revolution in the state of property, mind, and manners, of the English nation[44]. It was a gloomy and suffering period of transition to a much superior individual and national condition. The dismal tempest over, a new political creation appeared in the island, which every reader may discern, who contrasts the two centuries that followed the Norman conquest, with those which preceded it, and to the production of which, the evil passions of both parties were made subsidiary.

The internal warfare continues.

The king had driven his enemies from the field. But conquest is not pacification. He who conciliates his enemy, removes his irritation, and terminates his activity. He who merely defeats him, leaves all his causes of resentment alive, with an augmented appetite

[43] Malmsbury's account of the fact, and his apology for William for it, is this—"He may be excused if he was sometimes peculiarly harsh towards the English, because he found scarcely any of them faithful. This circumstance so exasperated his *fierce* mind, that he deprived the more powerful, first of their money, then of their lands, and some of their lives." p. 104. It does not however appear that the king sufficiently tried the effect of conciliation: the severity of his temper preferred force to persuasion.

[44] How complete the change of society must have been, we may infer from Malmsbury's expressions: "England became the habitation of foreigners—a territory of aliens—no Dux, or Pontifex, or Abbot, is an Englishman: Strangers consume the riches and the bowels of England." p. 93. To the same purpose, Hunt. 370.

appetite for revenge. Hence, although the Anglo-Saxons could assemble no force able to resist the Norman armies, yet whenever these retired, the petty but wasteful war of eager and implacable partisans began, and the country was filled with bloodshed, devastation, and famine. The revolting English plundered both their own countrymen, who had submitted, and the lands of the new Norman proprietors; and the Norman garrisons, remunerated every where by confiscations of the property of the patriots, were nothing averse, both to endure and often to provoke the profitable conflicts[45]. To supply the losses of such embittered warfare, William invited adventurers and soldiers from all parts to join his armies, and liberally rewarded their valour and fidelity. When some few of his Norman knights desired to return to their wives and families, the king, who could not afford their absence, divested them with displeasure of the honours he had conceded; but their secession was soon supplied by other adventurers, eager to share in the spoils of a country, whose disaffection and struggles, too late to be availing, only exposed it to be pillaged and divided among new masters. Patriotism would have hallowed such magnanimous efforts, if they had followed the battle of Hastings: they were now but mischievous and impotent revenge[46].

Danish fleet sails to assist the insurgents;

The most prominent successes of the English, were in Northumbria.

[45] Ord. Vit. 512, 513. The confession of this Norman writer, of the evils of the country, is sufficiently strong: "England was worn down by extreme and multifarious desolations, and her sufferings were aggravated both by natives and foreigners. Burnings, rapine, and daily slaughter, afflicted, destroyed, and wasted this miserable nation. Adverse fortune entangled in her net the wretched conquerors as well as the conquered. She struck indiscriminately at both, with the sword, pestilence, and famine." Ib. 512.

[46] The author of the Dialogue on the Exchequer, composed in the reign of Henry II. gives this description of the contending parties: "The English who survived laid secret ambushes for the hated and suspected Normans, and killed them every where, at every opportunity, in the woods and private places. In revenge, the king and his ministers raged against the English for many years with cruel torments." Every hundred was at last mulcted in a heavy fine for every Norman found dead. Dial. de Sacch. appended to 2 Madox Exch.

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thumbria. The people of Durham, by a sudden insurrection in the night, destroyed the governor and his garrison. At York, the son of the Norman commander, and many of his soldiers, were cut off, and the castle was besieged, and nearly taken. The king flew in wrath to its succour, attacked the assailants, and spared none. He staid eight days, building there an additional fortress, which he intrusted to the able William Fitz Osborne. His departure was but the signal of new assaults, and new turbulence elsewhere burst out. As the danger now wore an angry aspect, he sent back his beloved queen to Normandy, to keep that quiet; and he prepared to meet the perilous crisis with a determined and unpitying vigour. He distributed a large portion of his forces, for the protection of his coast, who had soon an opportunity for action. The sons of Harold, who had taken refuge with Dermot, one of the kings in Ireland, appeared off Exeter, with an Irish fleet of sixty-six ships. The invaders were immediately met by the Normans under the command of the son of the Earl of Bretagne, and they suffered so severely, in two destructive conflicts on the same day, that the survivors who escaped, scarcely filled two vessels. But the most formidable enemy, in the eye of William, was the Danish fleet. With 240 ships crowded with warriors, collected, as in the days of Alfred, from all the regions near the Baltic, the sons of Sveno came, full of hope and indignation, to efface the remembrance of the disgrace which the valour of the North had sustained in the fall of Haralld Hardrada. This force presented an army, whose numbers would require his concentrated powers to subdue, and whose hereditary bravery always made their battle severe.

Sent by Sveno.

Sveno, the sovereign of Denmark, was the son of the sister of Canute the Great[47]. He had been unsuccessful against Haralld Hardrada;

[47] He was the son of Ulf, who married Canute's sister. See 1 Hist. Anglo-Saxons, p. 429.

Hardrada; but on his fall, he rose to distinction in the North[48]. Two of Harold's sons, with their sister, took refuge in his court[49], and concurred with the Anglo-Saxons to solicit his exertions in their cause. He first led his army against Norway; but Olave, who had been allowed to quit England on his father's failure, was admitted to conclude a peace with him, and to marry his daughter[50]. This gave him leisure to direct his arms against William, in England; and he entrusted his sons, and some select friends, with the fleet that now invaded it.

Arrives at the Humber.

But so vigilantly was William guarding his coast, that this powerful armament attempted in vain to land at Dover, at Sandwich, at Ipswich, and at Norwich. Repulsed at all these places, it proceeded with this discouragement to the Humber, where its friends predominated, and it experienced there a cordial reception. Waltheof, an illustrious Anglo-Saxon, son of the celebrated Siward, Edgar Atheling, and crowds of English, united with the Danes. York was assaulted by them with success; and tidings of their progress were conveyed to William. The king was

[48] Saxo Grammaticus gives the Danish account of his struggle with Hardrada, in his usual paraphrastic Latin, l. 11. p. 205—207. In Snorre we have the rude statements of the Norwegian Annals, interspersed with the poetry of the Scalds, Har. Saga. vol. 3. p. 90—137. Their struggle lasted 13 years, from 1051 to 1064. In Adam of Bremen we have a simpler sketch of his actions, pp. 41, 42. 55.

[49] Saxo, p. 207. He adds, that this lady, our Anglo-Saxon countrywoman, was married, by Sveno, to the sovereign of Russia: So that the Norman conquest occasioned an English princess, our Harold's daughter, to partake the Russian throne at that period. She must, however, have been somewhat alarmed for her safety; for about that time, in 1071, a famine happening in a part of Russia, the idea arose, that the women caused it by magic; and this sagacious opinion was so popularly believed, that a great number of women were murdered, on the fancy that they kept the earth barren, and stopped the labours of the bees. L'Evesque, Hist. de Russie, vol. 1. p. 208.

[50] Olave was surnamed The Tranquil. He encouraged his countrymen to pursue commerce, and occasioned many markets to be established in Norway. Bergen rose under his auspices, and became an emporium for trade. Snorre Har. Saga, vol. 3. p. 176—180. Snorre mentions several customs introduced by Olave, that tended to advance the civilization of his country.

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was hunting when he first heard of the Danish invasion. His unwearied spirit soon collected an adequate force, and he marched it to the scene of danger. The Danes, respecting his formidable arrays, retired to the Humber, and sheltered themselves from his attack among the marshes of Lindesey.

William's activity and revenge.

Consentaneous movements were made by the English in Dorset and Somerset; the Welsh joined to attack Shrewsbury; and insurrections also pervaded Devonshire and Cornwall. It required all the vigour and sagacity of the king, to surmount the multiplying dangers. But his providing foresight, his indefatigable activity, his numerous armies, his rapid marches, and the superior military skill of his commanders, at last prevailed. The Danes themselves, whose invasion was so dreaded, found themselves circumscribed, threatened, and occasionally defeated[51]. The king, who flew from post to post, as the pressure seemed most critical, was at last enabled to liberate himself from the attack he most feared. From causes which we cannot now detect, the Danes quitted the island without fighting any battle that could endanger William. The Anglo-Saxon chroniclers are loud in accusing the Danish chiefs, of preferring the lavish bribes of William, to their national honour. The Norman writers by no means satisfactorily explain the reasons of their inactivity and departure. But their retreat left their English allies exposed to all the vengeance of the Conqueror, and he wreaked it to the full. When he first heard of the arrival of the Danes, he had sworn, in the transports of his wrath, that he would destroy all the people of Northumbria[52]: and this dreadful oath he now mercilessly performed.

He desolates Northumbria.

He spread his camps over the country, for the space of an hundred miles; and then the horrible execution of his vow was begun. All the cattle, corn, property, and habitations, beyond the Humber,

[51] Ord. Vit. 514.

[52] Hoveden, 451.

Humber, were destroyed and burnt by his soldiery; the fields were laid waste; the people slaughtered, or driven away. The young and old, the female, and unoffending peasant, indiscriminately suffered. The amount of human misery produced by this sanguinary measure, may be conceived by the asserted fact, that the vast tract between York and Durham, was left without a single habitation, the refuge only of wild beasts and robbers[53]. So complete was the devastation, that William of Malmsbury states, that this district, above sixty miles in length, which had been full of towns and cultivated fields, remained barren and desolate to his time, which was nearly a century afterwards[54]. More than 100,000 persons perished from this vindictive tyranny. The famine, diseases, and misery, which followed in this and the contiguous provinces, are described by the chroniclers in terms which excite horror as we read them, and which it would be loathsome to repeat[55]. No reasoning, no exigency, can palliate or justify atrocities like these: they prove that, amid all William's virtues, the Northman barbarian was still lingering in his heart.

The Danish fleet suffered so severely by shipwreck and famine, on its return[56], that Sveno was not in a condition, if he had been disposed, to renew the aggression. But his mind was directed to nobler objects. His example was peculiarly favourable to the spread of literature among his countrymen, and his exertions diffused Christianity extensively in the North[57].

William

[53] Ord. Vit. 514, 515. This writer, although a Norman, confesses that he cannot justify the cruelty of William; he says honestly, "I dare not praise it.—I assert without hesitation, that such ferocious destruction will not be remitted him with impunity. The omnipotent Judge beholds both the highest and the lowest, and with the strictest retribution will punish equally their transgressions." p. 515.

[54] Malmsbury, l. 3. p. 105.

[55] Hoveden, 451. Simeon of Durham, 199. Flor. Wig. 434.

[56] Ord. Vit. 515.

[57] Saxo speaks warmly of his studies and attainments, and of the improvements he produced, pp. 208, 209. And Adam of Bremen says of him, "Hearing of this king's wisdom, I determined to visit him, and was most

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William's winter march.

William pursued his opponents to the Tees, where earl Waltheof, and others, submitted to his government. He returned from the Tees to Haguldad and York. The hills he passed were covered with snow; and the severity of the frost caused a great destruction of his horses, and much suffering among his men, who forgot their discipline in their distresses. The king was at one time lost, with six companions, and wandered a whole night, ignorant of the position of his army[58]. From York he crossed the country towards Chester, to relieve Shrewsbury from the attacks of the Welsh. Here again we find difficulties enumerated, which forcibly imply the uncultivated state of England at that time. The roads had never been passed by cavalry before. The lofty hills, the perilous rivers, the overflowed vallies, and the destructive marshes, with storms of hail and rain, so harassed the soldiers, that the king was obliged to cheer them, by advancing before them on foot, and often to assist with his own hands to extricate them from their dangers. But his perseverance attained its end. He reached the midland provinces of Mercia, and cleared them of the disaffected; and after building more castles for the subjection of the country, he retired to enjoy a temporary repose[59].

New Clergy introduced. 1070.

He made important changes among the English clergy. He caused Stigand and others to be deposed, and he filled their places with men from Normandy and France, who were distinguished by the characters of piety, decorous morals, and a love of

most courteously received. A large portion of the substance of my book I collected from his lips. He had great knowledge of learning, and was very liberal to foreigners. He sent preachers to Sweden, Norway, and the adjacent islands. From his correct and pleasant narrations, I learnt that in his time many of the barbarous nations were converted to Christianity. Ad. Brem. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 16. p. 54. ed. Lind.

[58] The expressions of the Norman writer represent, on a small scale, the disasters of Bonaparte's army in the Russian winter :— ' Iter difficulter peractum—sonipedum ingens ruina—anxius pro sua quisque salute extitit, Domini parum aut amici meminit.' Ord. Vit. 515.

[59] Ord. Vit. 516.

of literature. This measure was an important addition to the civilization of the island[60]. No present can be greater to any country, than that of a moral and lettered clergy. The improvement which rapidly flowed from the Norman ecclesiastics, spread over England a new aspect of knowledge and prosperity. A temporary quiet pervaded the country; violence disappeared; the Normans and English began to intermarry; foreign merchandize appeared in their markets; and the Anglo-Saxons imitated the dress of their conquerors. The king, as one means of popularity, restored the dilapidated churches; and with a wise condescension, endeavoured to learn the English language, that he might understand their legal complaints himself, and redress them without delay. His advanced age, and multifarious occupations, however, precluded a successful progress[61].

His attack on Edwin and Morcar.

By conduct like this, he might have recovered the attachment of the people. But the poison of alarm had affected his mind, and his anxiety to anticipate possible evils, impelled him to actions which created them. He dreaded the influence of Edwin and Morcar; and, though they were living under his pardon and promised protection, he resolved on their destruction—an act of perfidy, which power might perpetrate, but could never excuse, which rekindled every bitter feeling, and precluded all future confidence between the nation and the throne.

Morcar was living in the isle of Ely, in peaceful greatness, and neither meditating nor suspecting wrong, when the forces of William surrounded him. As the place was naturally inaccessible, he might have long defended it, or have easily escaped. But the deceitful king deluded him from his measures of safety, by the kindest assurances of friendship and protection. Morcar went quietly with his followers, and was put into bonds, and imprisoned for

[60] Ord. Vit. 516.

[61] Ord. Vit. 520.

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for life[62]. That a sovereign, of William's general probity, should commit this treachery, is a striking instance, how greatly suspicion deranges the judgment, and indurates the heart.

Edwin, hearing of his brother's unmerited fate, swore that he would rather die, than not liberate or avenge him. For six months he wandered among the Scotch, English, and Welsh, seeking auxiliaries. The Norman fleet, and the more perilous Norman wiles, pursued him. None durst openly assist him; and at length he was betrayed by some of those whom he most trusted. He defended himself to the last, but perished in the unequal conflict. His memory was long consecrated by the lamentations of his countrymen, and even the Normans pitied his fate[63]. The adherents of these unfortunate noblemen were scattered through England, with the loss of their hands or eyes, to intimidate the nation[64].

Exploits of Hereward.

The Anglo-Saxon warrior, who was most distinguished for his talents and heroism in opposition to the Normans, was Hereward le Wake, the Empecinado of his day, whose romantic character has been described in the account of the Anglo-Saxon chivalry[65]. His successes arose from the difficult union of the most desperate intrepidity, with a fertile invention and calm and steady judgment: always daring to the very verge of rashness, he yet conducted his temerity with a skill which was never mistaken or surprised.

[62] Ord. Vit. 521. Gaimar, the Norman poet, nearly a contemporary, in his Estorie des Angles, says of Morcar and his friends, "Ki se rendirent follement." MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.

[63] Ord. Vit. 521. This Norman ecclesiastic honestly stigmatizes these actions of the king; who yet affected to weep at the treachery by which Edwin perished, and banished the wretches who brought his head. Ibid.

[64] Matthew Paris has drawn the dark side of William's character, with severity. But the features, though exaggerated, and not contrasted by his good qualities, have some truth: "He was a merciless king, and an inexorable tyrant; and to those whom he could delude with soft words and large promises, he became a faithless oppressor. He was active and warlike; ever dividing his opponents, and assailing them when divided." Abb. Alb. 47.

[65] Hist. Anglo-Saxons, vol. 2. p. 139.

surprised. Hearing that, after the battle of Hastings, his paternal lands had been given to a Norman, and that his mother was greatly oppressed, he sailed with his wife from Flanders, whither he had been exiled, to England; procured the gift of knighthood from his uncle, without which he was not entitled to command others; and commenced his successful onsets against the usurpers of his ancestral territory[66]. He became so formidable in Lincolnshire, that the Norman abbot, who had succeeded his uncle to the monastery at Peterborough, gave away sixty-two hides of the church lands to stipendiary knights, to protect the abbey from his assaults[67]. Hereward, however, determined to plunder the golden city, as it was then called, because it was possessed by a Norman, and defended by the oppressors of his family. The monks learnt his intentions, and dispatched their secretary to collect the Norman forces, in the district, against him. But the celerity of Hereward always corresponded with his audacity. On the same day that the messengers departed for their military auxiliaries, the Anglo-Saxon was at their gates: unable to force them, he set fire to the outbuildings, and obtained a passage through the flames. A splendid booty, that had then no parallel in England, rewarded his adventure; it was conveyed to his ships with his accustomed rapidity; and he had the gratification of sailing away, while the Norman knights were advancing to protect[68].

On a subsequent daring, he was pursued by the united forces of the warlike abbot, and of Ivo Tailboys (literally, the Wood-cutter) the Norman commander of the district, into the woods. Ivo, who is described as remarkable for his pompous verbosity, boasted that he would penetrate them with his soldiers, and destroy their noxious enemy. The abbot and nobles were afraid to encounter

[66] Ingulf. Hist. p. 70.
[67] Chron. Abb. Peterburg. p. 47.
[68] Saxon Chronicle, p. 176. Hugo Candid. Hist. 48—50.

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encounter Hereward, in the defiles of the forest, and thought it safer to station themselves on its skirts; Hereward was looking on their motions, from his hiding places, with a watching eye; and as soon as he saw that the proud Norman baron had completely entered the right side of the forest, he drew his men out of it with silent activity on the left, and then, bursting with the rapidity of lightning on the noble party at the entrance, he made them all his prisoners, and compelled them to redeem their safety with copious treasure[69].

He made the isle of Ely his central station, and there erected a wooden castle, which long retained his name. William surrounded the island with his fleet and army, and made solid roads and bridges over the marshes, to facilitate their movements[70]. But Hereward, from this position, made irruptions on all sides, which precluded William from accomplishing the conquest of the county. His activity was so successful, and his successes were so dreaded, that the king, who had conquered the rest of the country so triumphantly, was persuaded by Ivo to get a witch to march at the head of the army, and to try the effect of her incantations against him. On a bridge that was thrown over the marsh, for the passage of the soldiers, a lofty wooden tower was erected, and in this the witch was placed; while the military and labourers were stationed a little in advance. As she was forming her spells, Hereward, ever vigilant for his opportunities, put his more sagacious schemes into operation, and set all the surrounding reeds and vegetation on fire; the flames spread rapidly to every thing above the waters, and involved the enchantress and the troops in a circle of smoke and fire, which destroyed both them and the works that were constructing[71].

This

[69] Pet. Blessensis, Contin. Ingulf. p. 125.
[70] Matt. Paris, Hist. p. 7.
[71] We derive the knowledge of this curious incident from Petrus Blessensis, the friend and correspondent of Henry II. Contin. Ing. p. 125.

This indefatigable partisan was with Morcar, when he surrendered to William; but, disdaining to obey the person whom he considered as the tyrant of his country, he fled over the marshes, and escaped from his snares. But action, not safety, was his happiness; and he displayed the character of his mind, in his daring mode of evading his pursuers. His exploits had endeared him to his countrymen; and a fisherman, who was accustomed to carry fish to the Norman wardens of the marshes, received him and his companions into his vessels, and covered them with straw: the fisherman sailed to the part where the viscount Guy was keeping his guard, who, knowing the man, allowed him to approach as usual, without alarm or inquiry. But while the Normans were feasting in their tents, Hereward sprang with his friends from their concealment, rushed on their astonished opponents with their battle-axes, and destroyed or dispersed all the troop[72].

His celebrity,

The actions of this romantic adventurer were the favourite subject of the popular songs of the Anglo-Saxons, and even of the Normans. The Conqueror's secretary gives him the character of an heroic patriot. "When he had been made a commander in war, and a master of knights, he achieved so many brilliant and warlike adventures; he conquered his enemies so often, and he so frequently eluded them; that he merits perpetual fame. He supported the ruins of his falling country as long as it was possible, and he did not suffer it to perish unrevenged[73]."

and happy end.

His enmity was so formidable, that the king at last purchased his friendship with the grant of his father's estate, and the end of his life was happy. "After great battles," says Ingulf, "and a thousand dangers frequently dared and bravely terminated, as well against the king of England, as against his earls, barons, prefects

[72] Gaimar, in his Metrical Estorie des Angles (MS. Bib. Reg. 13 A. 21.) has preserved this trait, and relates several other particulars about him.

[73] Ingulf. Hist. p. 71.

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prefects and presidents, which are yet sung in our streets; and having avenged his mother with his powerful right hand; he at length obtained the king's pardon, and his paternal inheritance, and ended his days in peace; and was very lately buried, with his wife, near our monastery[74]." Such men ought not to be forgotten in history. Patriotism is a virtue which can never be exerted against power, without the sacrifice of personal comfort, and the perpetual risk of personal safety. Hence, in arduous times, it is the mark of a lofty and powerful mind; a sacred principle, whose certain sufferings nothing can remunerate, but the consciousness of its own justice and magnanimity, and its secret anticipations of the approbation of posterity.

William's kindness to Edgar.

William completed his security by the submission of the king of Scotland. His puny rival Edgar Etheling again sought his friendship; and it is a pleasant and generous trait in William's jealous character, that he always pardoned, and at last hospitably maintained in his own court, the prince who was so often set up against him as his competitor, who was surnamed England's Darling, and who was considered by the nation as the rightful heir to the throne. He allowed Edgar a pound of silver a day, which was a magnificent appointment at that period; and it is remarked by an old chronicler, as a specimen of his weak intellect, that he once gave all his money for a horse. Edgar afterwards went to Palestine with a valorous knight. The Greek Emperor would have detained him, out of respect to his descent; but the love of his native country induced him to return to it. William received him with his former kindness; and the prince lived in his court, amusing himself with his dogs, and preferring ease and indolence to violent and fruitless ambition[75].

The English honours distributed to Normans.

England being now completely conquered, and the power of its ancient

[74] Ingulf. Hist. p. 68.

[75] Will. Malmsb. p. 103.

ancient nobles destroyed, William proceeded to distribute the spoils among his adherents. To one, he gave the Isle of Wight, and the County of Hereford; to another, the County of Chester; to a third, Shrewsbury and its County. These barons were particularly instructed to watch and repress the Welsh; and they executed their allotted duty with a vigour and severity, which first debilitated the strength of Wales[76]. To Waltheof, he presented the County of Northampton, and his niece. Surrey, Buckingham, and Lincoln, Norfolk, and Leicester, were committed to others who had distinguished themselves in his service. He distributed his grants of honours and lands so profusely, that low and poor Normans found themselves raised to great proprietors; and many had tenants under them far richer than their own parents[77].

Depression of the Natives.

To supply these liberalities, the native English were sacrificed. Considered as rebels, hated and mistrusted, as all resisting patriots will be by the power that oppresses them, they obtained no protection from the government they had withstood: their Norman tyrants were allowed to insult and plunder them with impunity. And thus the English population sank to be the servants or the dependents of their conquerors[78].

The cruelty with which the English were treated, filled William's court with knights eager to share the property of the natives, which the king so willingly confiscated; but it also awakened a strong feeling of indignation in others abroad, who heard of his severities with undisguised aversion. We have one evidence of this

[76] Ord. Vit. 521, 522. He first invaded Brecon, and overcame three British kings that advanced against him—Rhys, Cadoc, and Meriadoc.

[77] Ord. Vit. 521—523. To the bishop of Constance he gave 280 English manors. The Norman writer adds, "Thus strangers were enriched by the wealth of England, whose sons for them were nefariously killed, or driven out, to wander wretched exiles abroad. Ibid.

[78] Ord. Vit. 523. His language, in this and other places, is strong. His facts remind us of the sufferings occasioned by the French revolution.

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this censorial sympathy, in the letter by which a foreign monk refused to accept ecclesiastical dignities in England, which William offered [79].

Conspiracy of Norman Barons.

William had scarcely began to enjoy the interval of tranquillity, which his stern government had imposed on England, when he was called into Normandy to repress revolts and aggressions of warlike nobles, which produced the addition of the province of Maine to his dominions [80]. While remaining there, he was alarmed by the tidings of a conspiracy in England, that at first wore the aspect of unusual danger: it was an attempt of some of his most favoured Norman barons to dispossess him of his crown. The plot seems to have been equally daring and absurd; it was framed by the son of his deceased favourite, William Fitz Osborne [81], who had now the command of the county of Hereford, in conjunction with the earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. They persuaded Waltheof, the popular Anglo-Saxon noble, who had the earldom of Northampton, to listen to their plan. They projected to depose William, and that one of them should be king, and the other two, principal governors under him. They fortified their castles, collected their military friends, and were preparing for the insurrection, when the plot became known to the government [82]. Its premature explosion was so early suppressed, that Lanfranc, the

[79] This was Guitmund. He says to the king, "I know not how I can preside over those whose foreign names and *barbarous* language I know not; whose fathers, dear relatives and friends, you have slain with the sword, or disinherited and exiled; or thrown into an unjust prison, or intolerable servitude. How can you impart, without a fault, what in war, and by an effusion of much blood. you have ferociously (truculenter) seized!" Ord. Vit. has inserted a copy of his letter, p. 524—526.

[80] Ord. Vit. 532, 533. He was accompanied in this expedition by English forces; "who," says Malmsbury, "though easily oppressed at home, are always invincible abroad." l. 3. p. 105.

[81] The king had sent this active soldier to Normandy, to aid his queen in defending the province. He went afterwards to Flanders, to assist her brother, Arnulph, son of its earl Baldwin, against the invasion of the disinherited Robert. He was surprised by the exile, aided by imperial troops, and perished from his careless security. Ord. Vit. 526.

[82] Ord. Vit. 534. Malmsb. 104.

the archbishop of Canterbury, one of the regency, in his dispatch to the king, announcing the defeat of Norfolk, requests him not to trouble himself to cross the seas for such a cause[83].

The earl, who had been one of William's auxiliaries from Bretagne, was chased to Norwich; the castle was forced; and he undertook to quit the kingdom, with his Bretons, in forty days[84]. The son of Fitz Osborne was as easily vanquished[85]. The remembrance of his father's great services preserved his life; but he was committed to prison, where he precluded forgiveness by the most wanton insults to his sovereign[86].

The Breton lord was pursued by William to his own country, who made it an opportunity to attempt the conquest of Bretagne. The town of Dol resisted his attacks; he swore he would not quit it till he mastered it; but the unexpected advance of the count of Bretagne, with a great superiority of force, supplied in part by the French king, put William into such danger, that he was glad to escape with precipitation, abandoning all his baggage and treasure[87].

Waltheof's punishment.

The punishment of Waltheof, for his privity in this conspiracy, excited greatly the sensibility of the people. Son of the powerful Siward, he was, like his father, of giant size and strength, and of undaunted courage. William esteemed him, and had given him his

[83] Lanfranc tells the king, that it would be disgrace to them, if he should come over to surmount such perjuries and robbers. "Their armies are all in flight; and before few days they will be either driven out of the country, or be taken, or killed." See Lanfranci Opera Omnia, Ep. 34. p. 318.

[84] Lanf. Epist. 35. p. 318. The castle at Norwich was then committted to the care of William of Warenne, with 300 coats of mail, with balistarii, and many machines. Ib.

[85] Lanfranc wrote him a kind letter, on the first intimation of his purposes, urging him to abandon them; inviting him, with affectionate friendship, to come and converse with him; and promising perfect safety in going and returning from the meeting. Ep. 40. p. 320.

[86] He not only repeatedly revil'd the king, in his confinement, but when William, with a returning friendship, sent him, on an Easter festival, a splendid present of costly apparel, he had a fire made in the prison, and contemptuously burnt them. Ord. Vit. 535.

[87] Ord. Vit. 544.

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his niece Judith in marriage; a fatal present, for she betrayed the conspiracy he had been invited to join, and accused him as a traitor. He admitted his knowledge, but denied his participation of the plot. It is impossible now to ascertain the degree of his criminality. The ancient chroniclers differ on the subject[88]. The most favourable statement admits, that he knew of the conspiracy, without immediately impeaching the conspirators; and this even in our present law is treasonable. The king was inexorable, and Waltheof, though greatly beloved, was at last beheaded[89].

The life of William was an alternation between great successes and great disquietudes; one danger was scarcely surmounted, but another arose. The conquest of England was followed by the turbulence of his Norman barons; and this evil was increased by the unfilial conduct of his son Robert, with whom he had soon to support an unnatural warfare. It seems probable, that the severity of the king's temper, and that spirit of mistrust which pervaded his reign, prevented any personal attachment between him and his nobles. Hence he found himself so often thwarted by the chiefs whom he had most obliged. But a reign of violence, is always a reign of insecurity and disquiet. The king, who governs by the sword, creates a fierce and unprincipled spirit around him, even among his own adherents, from whose petulance and selfishness he is never safe. He is obeyed from the basest of all human motives—fear—and when that spring fails, his throne begins to tremble.

Willam

[88] Florence of Worcester, 439—441. states, that as soon as he could, he revealed the plot to Lanfranc, in his confessions, who advised him to go to the king, discover the truth, and trust to his mercy. Ordericus, who mentions the accusation of Judith, yet describes the earl as endeavouring to dissuade the conspirators from their design. 536. Henry of Huntingdon, on the contrary, declares, that he concurred to advise Norfolk to the rebellion. p. 369. Malmsbury rather implies his criminality. p. 104.—His memory was so dear to the nation, that miracles were ascribed to his tomb.

[89] Judith is frequently mentioned in Domesday Book, as the proprietor of numerous estates.

William acted too often on the absurd maxim of some short-sighted statesmen, That political perfidy is a venial offence. He made promises, to gain temporary objects, which, from his spirit of mistrust, he never fulfilled. He experienced the just and natural and inevitable consequences of faithlessness, in the hatred, unpopularity, and disappointments, which it occasioned.

Robert's rebellion.

The turbulence of his son Robert began from this cause. When he first meditated the invasion of England, it was necessary to secure the neutrality of France: to procure it, he promised the French government, that if he succeeded, he would invest his son Robert with the Norman dutchy [90]. He forebore to redeem this pledge; but afterwards, when a dangerous illness attacked him, he solemnly appointed Robert his heir, and commanded his nobles to do him homage. His suspicious mind again impelled him to retract what he had done; and Robert deeply felt and resented both the breach of promise and the mistrust [91]. He allowed his indignant feelings to overcome his filial duty. Many of the great barons encouraged him; and his irritable state of mind was provoked by insult from his younger brothers. These, envying his state and pretensions, sided with their father; and, going to the castle where he was residing, began to play at dice or drafts on the terrace, as it is said soldiers were used to do. They made a contemptuous noise, and at last threw down water on Robert and his friends below. Incited by the remarks of his followers, on the visible intention of the contumely, he rushed up the stairs with the most vindictive purposes. The clamour that ensued, roused the king; and his authority for a time appeased his contending children. Robert quitted the camp on the next day, with projects of resentment. He failed in his attempt to surprise Rouen; but he gained adherents enough to disquiet, if not to endanger his father [92].

He

[90] Flor. Wig. 442. Hoveden, 457. [91] Ord. Vit. 545. [92] Ibid. 545, 546.

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He applied to the king again, to be invested with the dutchy of Normandy; William refused, and exhorted his son to remember the fate of Absalom, and to be dutiful. Robert disrespectfully answered, that he came not to hear sermons, with which he had been nauseated at his grammar-school, but to receive a right which had been promised him. The king, both enraged and alarmed at his peremptory demand, declared with vehemence, that he would not part with any portion of his power while he lived. His son with equal fury declared, that he would seek by the help of strangers, that justice which his father denied him: and quitting Normandy with several barons, he passed five years with the neighbouring powers, striving to unite a force competent to extort the object of his ambition. But his character was too unsteady to endanger William. The splendid presents which he received from many barons, he squandered on minstrels, parasites, and loose women, frequently enduring the greatest pressure of distress[93].

His mother often supplied him with money and presents. The king, discovering her liberality, sternly commanded her not to repeat it; but her affection for her son, led her to disobey the prohibition. His upbraidings, on the discovery of her conduct, were severe: he reminded her of his unabated affection, and unbounded confidence in her; and he appealed to her reason, whether she ought to be the person who should employ his property in arming his enemies against him. In her answer, Mathilda pleaded a mother's fondness for her first-born child, and added, "If Robert were in his grave, and could be revived by my blood, I would pour it out to restore him. How can I enjoy my prosperity, and suffer my son to be pining in want? far from my heart be such cruelty! nor ought your power to exact it." The king respected

[93] Ord. Vit. 570.

respected her maternal firmness, but endeavoured to punish those who conveyed her bounty[94].

Robert at last obtained the aid of the French king. He gained possession of the castle of Gerberoy, on the borders of Normandy, and made it the asylum of the discontented; and he was joined by many, even of the king's friends. William collected his forces, and beseiged the place, which was becoming every day more dangerous to him. During this siege, Robert, in a vigorous sally, engaged a knight enveloped in armour, wounded him in the arm, and unhorsed him: at the moment of his fall, he discovered that his antagonist was his father! he dismounted with precipitation, respectfully assisted William to regain his horse, and permitted him to depart unmolested[95]. At length, the earnest entreaties of the nobles and clergy, procured a termination to this unnatural war. The king confirmed his promise of the dutchy, to Robert, after his own demise, and Normandy recovered its internal tranquillity. But the family dissensions soon revived: Robert's conduct became again disobedient and immoral; the king rebuked him; and the untractable prince quitted his father's court. William now turned his affection on his dutiful sons William and Henry, and rewarded their filial attachment by every honour which his government

[94] Ord. Vit. 571. Mathilda hearing that a German anchorite was famous for his prophetic powers, sent to intreat his prayers for her son and husband, and his opinion as to the event of their contest. He sent his answer in a pleasing allegory: "I saw in a dream a beautiful meadow covered with grass and flowers, and a fierce charger feeding in it. A numerous herd hovered about it, desirous to enter and partake the feast; but the intrepid steed drove them all away. Suddenly the noble creature died and vanished, and a silly cow appeared in his stead, the guardian of the place. The animals that had been kept at distance now rushed in, consumed all the herbage and the flowers, and defiled the meadow with pollution and ravages. The steed is William; Robert will be the cow. The surrounding animals are the neighbouring potentates, who, when Robert succeeds, will overrun and destroy the Norman Dutchy, now so prosperous and happy." His discernment perceived, from the character of Robert, the miseries which his government would occasion.

[95] Flor. Wig. 443. Hoveden, 457.

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ment could confer[96]. The ambition of his half-brother, Odo, who was contriving to acquire the papal dignity, exciting his displeasure, he ordered the bishop's arrest; but no one dared expose himself to the resentment of the ecclesiastical body, by obeying the command. The determined king became his own officer; he arrested Odo himself, who exclaimed, "I am a clergyman, and no one can condemn a bishop, without the sanction of the Pope." William answered, "I do not arrest the clergyman or the bishop, but my own earl, whom of my own will I made governor of my kingdom, and from whom I require an account of his stewardship." Odo was confined in Normandy during the remainder of William's reign[97].

Danes menace another invasion.

Mathilda died about the time of Odo's apprehension, and William survived her but four years, and they were years of trouble. The king of Denmark, St. Canute, projected an invasion, to reunite England to the Danish crown[98]. The earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, agreed to assist; and Olaf Kyrre, the king of Norway, sent sixty ships, full of warriors, to join in the expedition[99]. St. Canute pleased himself with the hope of reviving the faded glory, and recovering the lost inheritance, of his ancestors; and a thousand vessels were to convey a force that would overwhelm all

[96] Ord. Vit. 573.

[97] Ord. Vit. 646. From the last reference to the present, this excursive author digresses into an account of the benefactors to his monastery; the legends of St William and St. Ebrulf; and the adventures of the famous Guiscard in Italy.

[98] Saxo, who becomes authentic as he approaches his own times, narrates, with some pomp, the preparations and romantic hopes of the Danish king, St Canute, or Canute IV. It may be read as a specimen of that style which Erasmus so highly extolled. Hist. Dan. l. 12. p. 217. Sveno Aggon. in his ancient compendium of Danish History, from Skiold to Canute VI. mentions it more concisely, c. 6. p. 57. ap. Langb. Script. Dan.

[99] According to Snorre (Saga af Olafi Kyrra) Canute offered Olaf the command of the expedition: Olaf declined it, frankly confessing, that the flower of the Norwegian warriors had fallen in the disastrous invasion of Haralld Hardrada, and that Norway had never been able to recover from that blow. He therefore desired only to assist as an auxiliary, not to lead as a principal.

all opposition. William was sufficiently alarmed at the menace; his English subjects were discontented, and his Norman barons disposed to be turbulent. But he was, as usual, provident and indefatigable. From all parts of the Continent, he invited knights and warriors to his standard, and they came in such abundance, that the Saxon chronicler says, "Men wondered how this land might feed them all[100]." But William's day of heroism was past: preferring quiet to glory, he strove to avert a collision that, in the state of the public mind, might be dangerous, and with the best result must be destructive. A seasonable application of his treasure, among the counsellors[101] and chieftains of St. Canute, excited a seditious dissatisfaction in the armament, as it lay at anchor at Haitheby, which compelled him to allow it to disband itself[102]; and soon afterwards, he perished in a revolt[103].

William burns Mante.

This danger had scarcely subsided, when the barons of Mante became turbulent. A warfare with Philip[104], king of France, followed; which exhibits William pursuing again those vindictive passions which had so often disquieted his reign, and experiencing those disastrous consequences which impress mankind with the belief of a moral retribution. A joke of Philip's exasperated his irascible temper. William had become corpulent and unwieldy; and

[100] "Swa myclan here—Swa nefre er this land ne gesohte; swa tha men wundredon hu this land mihte eall thone here afedan." p. 186.

[101] Chron. Petri. 51.

[102] Snorre admits the sedition, vol. 3. p. 186. Sveno states it as a conspiracy, p. 57. Saxo intimates, that the king's brother, latenter æmulum, cherished the disaffection, and laboured to frustrate the attempt, p. 217. Ælnothus, in his Life of the King, c. 13. does not accuse the brother, but makes him deputed by the army, to express their discontent; for which, Canute sent him a prisoner to Flanders.

[103] Canute's severity on his disappointment, and heavy exactions, excited a revolt; and one of his own household headed the military rebels, who forced the church to which the king had retired. A few faithful friends chose to perish with him, rather than to desert him. The king took refuge at the altar, but a lance, darted through the window, pierced his side, and killed him. Saxo, p. 221. Ælnothus, c. 26.—c. 32.

[104] Philip I. who succeeded his father, Henry I. in 1059, had been brought up by Baldwin earl of Flanders, and reigned till 1108; when Louis le Gros acceded. Frag. Hist. Franc. p. 94.

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and Philip, hearing that an indisposition confined him to his bed at Rouen, declared that he was *lying in* there. William was weak enough to be enraged at this idle sarcasm, and swore by the resurrection and glory of the Deity (his favourite oath,) that at his *churching*, he would light up an hundred thousand candles in France. At the following harvest, he performed his terrible vow No consideration mitigated his rage: he ravaged and burnt every part he approached; and this gratification of his revenge, proved at last his destruction. He took the town of Mante, and, continuing to indulge his wrath, he committed it to the flames. As if the misery he was causing, had been an enjoyment to his mind, he rode from part to part of the burning town, directing his men where to feed and spread the conflagration, in which many of the inhabitants were perishing. In this disgraceful activity, his horse, stepping on some of the hot ashes, suddenly plunged, and, striking the saddle against his belly, produced a rupture, or an inflammation, which, from the heat of the season and of the fire, was followed by a fever that soon exhibited mortal appearances[105].

His dying state.

He was taken back to Rouen; but the noise of this populous city being disagreeable to him, he was removed by his own desire to a monastery without the walls. His physicians and religious friends attended, and as their hopes departed, his approaching death was announced to him. In the awful moments of impending dissolution, the delusions of ambition and revenge disappeared. He

[105] Malm. 112. Ord. Vit. 656. Wace gives the following account of this event :

En france mena mil armez
Lances dreites, les fers levez,
Maisons e viles fist ardeir,
Les feus en pout li reis veeir.
Pois fist a Meante un arson,
La vile mist tote en charbon,
Les bois arstrent e les citez
E les mostiers out alumez
Parmie la vile trespassout
Sor un cheval qui mult amout
En un arsiz mist ses dous piez
Mais tost les ont asci sachiez
Par grant air avant sailli
Li reis se tint qu'il ne chai
E ne poroc mult se bleca
A son arcon ou il hurta.
MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

He reviewed the violences of his perturbed reign with remorse; and was so much shocked at the recollection of the cruelties he had committed in England, to maintain his crown, that, although he confirmed the dukedom of Normandy to his son Robert, he declared he could not give the kingdom of England to any one, lest his disposition of it should be the cause of similar horrors; but he expressed his hope that William, his obedient son, might be allowed to possess it.

As the king paused at this moment, his youngest son, Henry, finding himself unnoticed, exclaimed, with tears, "Father! what do you leave me?" "Five thousand pounds of silver, out of my treasury," said the king. The prince asked him, of what use would the money be, if he did not give him a home? The king exhorted him to be patient, and to allow his elder brothers to enjoy their prior rights, assuring him, that in time he would be superior to both. He directed Rufus to sail immediately to England, with his letter to Lanfranc, recommending his coronation; and Henry went out to receive and secure his legacy, while the king was alive.

William continued in the full possession of his senses, and gave many wise directions for the welfare of his dominions. His ministers and nobles, who had come to take leave of their departing sovereign, now spoke in behalf of the many prisoners whom he detained in captivity. The king confessed that he had imprisoned the earl Morcar unjustly, but that it had been from apprehension of his hostility. From the same distrust, he owned that he had kept many others in custody, and some from their own obstinacy: "But at this hour," he added, "when I have myself to hope that my offences will find mercy from my Creator, I order all the prisons to be opened, and every captive to be released, on condition that they swear to be peaceable—except my brother Odo." This exception startled his nobles, and occasioned an earnest

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intercession for Odo's liberation. The king declared, that he was surprised at their solicitation, for a man so unworthy; he expatiated on his vices, and assured them, that his release would only enable him to excite new troubles, and cause the death of thousands. Being pressed again, with assertions of Odo's reformation, the king at last unwillingly consented to his discharge.

William lingered until the ninth of September: after sun-rise, being roused by a noise, he asked what it was, and was told it was the clock of Saint Mary's church, striking the hour; he raised his eyes devoutly to heaven, and extending his hands, cried out, "To my lady the holy Mary I commend myself, that she, by her prayers, may reconcile me to her beloved Son." He expired as he spoke, to the surprise of his attendants, who had been deceived, by his passing a tranquil night, to expect a favourable change. His richer courtiers flew immediately to their horses, and went to their homes, to take care of their property; his poorer vassals, seeing the selfish conduct of their superiors, hastened to imitate it, and seized, like vultures, his armour, clothes, valuables, and furniture, and disappeared, leaving his dead body almost naked on the ground, deserted and neglected by every one[106]. So little was he loved! So unstable is the attachment of interest and fear!

His interrupted burial.

The humiliation of greatness was not yet complete. No one was

[106] We derive the particulars of his death from Ordericus, 656—661 who was twelve years old when the Conqueror died. His moralizing peroration may be quoted, because it gives some striking circumstances of the first effects of his death. "O secular pomp! how despicable art thou, because how vain and transient! Thou art justly compared to the bubbles made by rain; for, like them, thou swellest for a moment, to vanish into nothing. Survey this most potent hero, whom lately 100,000 knights were eager to serve, and whom many nations dreaded, now lying for hours on the naked ground, spoiled and abandoned by every one! The citizens of Rouen were in consternation at the tidings. Every one fled from his home, and hid his property, or tried to turn it into money, that it might not be known." p. 661. This expectation of a general pillage, shews the imperfect state of government and polity at that period.

was found, who would convey the body to Caen to be interred, till an obscure country knight performed the pious office at his own expence. At its entry into Caen, a fire happening to break out in the city, all run from the royal remains, to behold or extinguish the flames; and when the hour of his interment came, the very spot intended for his burial was claimed by a person as his property, which William had unjustly taken from him. The funeral was suspended till the man's demands were satisfied. This disagreeable circumstance surmounted, another arose. The sarcophagus that had been prepared for him, was found too small, and they were obliged to force in the corpulent body, which burst with the violence; and the ceremony was hurried over with a precipitation and disgust, which extinguished all respect and sympathy[107].

His person, and character.

William had reigned above twenty years in England, and had governed Normandy fifty-four years. He was in his sixty-third year when he died. His person was tall, and became unusually lusty. His countenance had a fierce expression: his forehead was bald. His deportment, whether he was sitting or standing, was very dignified. Such was his health, that he had experienced no illness till his last; and such was the strength of his arms, that no one could bend his bow. At his great festivals at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, no sovereign could be more courteous or liberal[108]. His occasions for money, to repel the enmities he had to encounter, made him appear avaricious and rapacious; and

[107] Ord. Vit. 662. Eadmer, p. 13. Wace thus describes the claimant;

E is vos un Vavasor errant
Qui la presse vint derompant,
A celui out nom filz artur
Par la presse vint asseur,
Sor une pierre en haut monta
Devers la biere se torna,
Clers et evesques apela
En haut sestrit, en haut parla.

On making his claim, he adds,

Est de mon dreit, e de mon fieu
Jo nai dreit graignor en nul lieu;
Jo nel vendi, neu engagai;
Ne nel forsis, ne nel donai;
Ne il de mei, ne l'engaga;
N'engage rien, ne men dona;
Par sa force le me toli
Onques pois dreit ne men offri.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[108] Malmsb. 112.

and his fondness for the chace, led him to a cruel exertion of his power, in making the New Forest in Hampshire, for which he depopulated above thirty miles of an inhabited country. The degree of human misery produced by this tyrannical measure, has made our old chroniclers remark its apparent punishment in the calamities that occurred from it to his family[109]. The Saxon Chronicle complains heavily of his game laws[110].

The usual severity of his temper has been mentioned by several of his contemporaries[111]: the exigencies of his life concurred with the manners of his people to produce it. Acceding to his Norman dutchy a child, his barons revolted from their allegiance; and he had many fierce conflicts to endure, in his maturer age, before he could subdue them. The stern virtues and great energy of his character, became, by their very vigour and frequent excitation, harshness, cruelty, and irascibility[112]. But his mind was of a superior cast. It had the vices of a semi-barbarous age, of a deficient education, and uncorrected selfishness, but none of the degrading follies of the voluptuary. It

[109] They notice, that his two sons Richard and Rufus, and his nephew William, perished in it, and all while hunting there. The popular feeling was so strongly excited on the subject, that it became a tradition, that whoever should hunt there on the anniversary of his birthday, would become blind, or suffer some calamity. See Robert of Gloucester, vol. 2. p. 376.

[110] "He appointed many deer-forests, and he established many laws concerning them; that whosoever should slay hart or hind, man should b ind him. He forbad harts and boars to be taken away. He so very much loved wild deer as if he were their father. So he ordered of hares, that they must go free. His great men complained of this, and the poor men murmured." Sax. Chr. p. 191.

[111] The excuse which his friends made for deserting him on his death, was, that he was a savage: ut barbarum nequiter deseruerunt. Ord. Vit. 661. Eadmer remarks his feritate qua multis videbatur sevus et formidabilis, p. 13.; which corresponds with Malmsbury's facie fera, p. 112.

[112] The Saxon Chronicler speaks of him fairly: "King William was a very wise man, and very powerful; more honoured and much stronger, than any of his forefathers. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but stern above measure to those men that withstood his will." p. 189. Robert of Gloucester expresses himself in similar terms;

Kyng Wyllam was to mylde men,
debonere ynou;
Ac to men that him wythsede,
To all sturnhede he drou.
Vol. 2. p. 369.

It was always bold, judicious, decisive, and indefatigable. Ambition often hardened his heart, and jealousy contracted it; but when these evil passions slumbered, his government was just, intelligent and beneficial.

His tender affection and fidelity to his queen, shew his susceptibility of the best sympathies of our nature; and his behaviour to Edgar Etheling, was truly magnanimous, where few princes have the courage to be so. His conduct to the Pope displayed that determined dignity of mind in the sovereign, in his public transactions, which is the best guardian of his people's honour. He would not suffer any one to receive the Pope elected at Rome, as the apostolical father, without his permission, nor to introduce the papal bulls until he had first inspected them[113]. When the Legate required him to do homage to the Roman See, his answer to the Pope himself, the formidable Gregory VII. was, "I have been unwilling to do fealty to you hitherto, and I will not do it now; because I have never promised it, nor do I find that any of my predecessors performed it to yours[114]."

His religious conduct was correct, according to the customs of the age. He built monasteries; he invited the best informed monks into his dominions; he filled the churches with the best pastors he could procure; and he was respectful to the clergy, without being their slave. Lanfranc appreciated his character in this respect with much judgment, when he recommended to the Pope to pray for the king's length of life. "While he lives, we shall have some peace; but after his death, we cannot hope to have either peace or any good[115]." A prediction of his sagacity, which Rufus took care to fulfil.

The

[113] Eadmer, p. 6.

[114] The king ends his letter with a delicate intimation of rebuke: "Pray for us, and for the state of our kingdom, for we *loved* your predecessors; and particularly *desire to love* you sincerely, and to listen to you obediently." Opera Lanfranci, Ep. 6. p. 305.

[115] Op. Lanfranci, Ep. 1. p. 300. The clergy seem to have lamented his death more than his nobles, if we may judge from Eadmer's

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The reign of William has become prominent in our history, for the great revolution which it produced in the internal state of England; and more especially for the establishment of a new aristocracy, which has materially contributed to our constitutional and national improvements.

His feudal donations.

As his persecutions and their own resentments drove almost all the Anglo-Saxon nobility into revolt or exile, the largest part of the landed property of England fell gradually into his hands. He was obliged to grant what he seized or confiscated, to his clamorous followers; but he made military service the indefeasible condition of the donation. This had been customary in England before, to a modified extent[116]; but many lands had become exempt from it, and feeble governments had lost much of the power of enforcing it. It was now imposed as an universal obligation, and its performance was rigidly exacted. This condition of his bounty was made one of the fundamental laws of the kingdom in parliament, where it was ordered, that "all earls, bishops, knights, esquires, and freemen, should hold themselves ready in horses and arms to do the king full service, and to go as they ought, and as he by the common counsel of all the kingdom should provide, and as he had granted in hereditary fee[117]."

He encourages the building of castles.

It was also William's early and perpetual policy to secure the submission of the country by building castles in every part, and committing them, with grants of lands, to warlike chieftains, on whose fidelity and activity he could rely. He countenanced the erections of fortresses by his military tenants, as their best protection against the disaffection of the country. The laws

Eadmer's hyperbole: "On hearing of his death, we thought we should have died, præ cordis angustia." p. 13. But we can hardly reason from rhetoric so extravagant.

[116] See Hist. Ang.-Sax. vol. 2. p. 175—178.

[117] Leges Will. Conq. ap. Wilkins Leges Saxon. p. 228. His military grants made 60,000 knights fees in the island. Ord. Vit. 523. And this was the number of knights which he called out on the threat of a Danish invasion. Ib. p. 649.

laws encouraged the practice. It was declared, by the common council of the nation, that castles, cities and burgs, were founded for the defence of the kingdom and the people, and ought to be kept in all their rights and liberties. They were directed to be carefully watched, and guarded against the hostile and ill-intentioned; and all markets were to be held there[118].

This system, while it completed the conquest of the island, after its ineffectual revolt, also filled it with a new military aristocracy; vigorous from its youth; formidable in its means of offence, from the power necessarily given to it, to effectuate the purpose of its establishment; and independent, in its own domains, of the crown, by the ancient laws and customs of the country. It was an important peculiarity of the Norman conquest, that, though it changed the individual persons of the proprietary body of England, it left most of its civil institutions undestroyed, or only new named. The witenagemot survived in the parliament. The earl, the ealderman, the knight and the freeman, the gerefa or mayor, the shire-gerefa or sheriff; the hundred and the wapentake; the county court; the elective franchises; the cities and burhs, and their various privileges—the former customs, tolls, and services—were all preserved. It was still an Anglo-Saxon country with a Norman sovereign, and a Norman nobility and clergy and proprietary body.

His laws to diminish slavery.

Many minor innovations—some new domestic manners, and new pursuits of life—must have accompanied the diffusion of the new landlords and masters. But William studied rather to ascertain the ancient customs of the land, and to govern by them, than to subvert them. He directed the laws of Edward the Confessor to be continued and observed, with the additions which the good of the country had made necessary[119]; and he opened an important channel for the augmentation of the free part of the people,

[118] Leg. Will. Conq. Wilk. pp. 228, 229. [119] Leg. W. Conq. p. 229.

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people, by enacting, that the residence of any of the servile portion of the population, for a year and a day, without being claimed in any city, burh, walled town or castle, should entitle them to their perpetual liberty[120].

Nor did this benefit of his legislation to the enslaved rest here. Almost all the rustic population of England was in the servile state, under the different names of Villani, Bordarii, Servi, Cotarii, Coscez: they were attached to the land, sold with it, like the cattle, and were a part of its live feoh, or living money. But the laws of William gave them legal rights, and rescued them from arbitrary bondage. It was enacted, that lords should not deprive their husbandmen of their land, so long as they did the proper service for it; that these cultivators should not be called upon to do any other work than their due service[121]; and, that no man should be sold out of the country[122]. In his Domesday inquisitions, it was one of the legal enquiries, Whether any of the peasantry had a right of leaving the lands they occupied, and of going where they pleased? and this important privilege was carefully recorded[123]. An easy mode of emancipation was established, which, from its publicity, tended not only to secure the freedom of the liberated, but to give the generous master the satisfaction of knowing, that his bounty was witnessed by the first men of his district. In the full county court, he was to take his slave by the right hand; to deliver him to the sheriff; to declare his manumission; to shew him the open door; and to put into his hands the arms of the free, a lance and a sword. The sweetest blessing of life became then the legal property of the bondsman: from that hour he was irrevocably free[124].

The revenues of the crown, were the continuation of those which the

[120] Leg. W. Conq. p. 229.
[121] Ib. 225. Ingulf. p. 90.
[122] Ib. 229.
[123] See Domesday Book, passim.
[124] Leg. W. Conq. 229.

the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns had enjoyed; and the commissioners were ordered to inquire, all over the kingdom, what payments had been made to Edward the Confessor. We see these carefully recorded in Domesday Book[125]. In many parts, the ancient sum is increased; but it is probable that the augmentation corresponded with the improved cultivation of the district.

Norman conquest not unfavourable to liberty:

The Norman conquest was, therefore, no abridgement of the liberties of England; on the contrary, it established, as we have remarked, a powerful and active aristocracy, which was strong enough at times even to give the law to its sovereign. It promoted the emancipation of the servile, and it protected the privileges of the free. It was enacted, that "all free men of the whole kingdom should have and hold their lands and their possessions well and in peace, free from all unjust exaction and contribution, so that nothing be exacted or taken from them but the free service which they owe by law and by the tenure of their lands, and as is appointed and granted to them in hereditary right for ever by the common council of all our kingdom[126]." All freemen were to take the oath of fealty to the king, and to preserve faithfully his lands and honors, and to defend him against all enemies and strangers[127]. And thus both king and people had their respective rights acknowledged and protected.

Occasions great improvements in England.

The great benefit derived by England, from the Norman conquest, was the new spring and spirit which it gave to the national mind. All the torpor, debility, and degradation of sensuality and sloth—without literature, arts, or laudable pursuits—and all the factions and vices of a corrupted aristocracy, and debased clergy; had

[125] Domesday Book, passim. Ordericus says that the king received from his just revenue, at the rate of sixteen hundred pounds thirty shillings and three halfpence a day, exceptis muneribus regiis et reatuum redemptionibus aliis que multiplicibus negotiis, which daily increased the king's treasury. p. 523.

[126] Leg. Will. p. 228. [127] Ibid.

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had enervated the Anglo-Saxon intellect; were precluding its improvement, and palsying the operation of the wise institutions of Alfred and his forefathers. The universal destruction of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and the sufferings and consumption of a portion of the Anglo-Saxon population, ended this state of affluent effeminacy. A new race of men was spread over the whole island, with a peculiar principle actuating every one to excellence. This was that love of glory[128], which made every Norman mind restless, till it had acquired personal improvement and personal distinction. The wealth and situation of England opened new avenues to fame, and drew from all parts of Europe the most aspiring and the most able, to get honours and profit. A new creative vigour appeared afterwards, in every path of human merit. Activity and emulation became the characterizing qualities of the nation; and the different classes, attaching themselves to various pursuits, infused the spirit and enlarged the boundaries of improvement in all. In war, in religion, literature, trade, and amusements, the Anglo-Normans became equally fervent and indefatigable. A steady and effective judgment and perseverance appeared in their undertakings; and though their energies frequently deviated into civil turbulence, yet the progress of the nation, as a whole, never intermitted. The change produced in England was so great, in the eyes of a foreign writer contemporary with this period, that he is pleased to say that "William *mitigated* our *barbarous* manners, and amplified our cultivation of Christianity, which, before his coming, had been in a very low state[129]." We have already seen by Guitmund's letter, that the Anglo-Saxons had been considered by him as a barbarous people.

The curfew.

That William ordered all fires to be put out, on the tolling of the curfew bell, to prevent nightly meetings for conspiracies, has been the

[128] See before, p. 55.

[129] Hist. Franc. p. 87. ed. Francof. 1596.

the popular belief, from the assertion of Polydore Virgil. That there was a time named and known from some such practice is clear, from a law of Edward I. which forbids any one to be in the streets after coever-fu[130]. But Malmsbury's intimation of Henry 1st's partial restoration of the use of lights to his court, which had been intermitted in his *brother's* reign, refers the prohibition to William Rufus[131].

Domesday book.

The most important financial operation of his reign, was the inquest, taken throughout the country, of the quantity of lands chargeable with military service—the great proprietors—their servile population, and established payments. It was meant to ascertain the legal rights of the crown; and, perhaps, as the chroniclers intimate, to acquire a knowledge of the state of the property of the country. The facts required were for the most part ascertained by the oaths of a competent number of persons in every district: the record of the information they collected and returned to the Exchequer, is the celebrated Domesday Book[132].

[130] Que nul seit si hardi estre trove alaunt ne batraunt parmis les ruwes de la citée apres coeverfu. Stat. civit. Lond. 13 Edw. I.

[131] Malmsb. l. 5. p. 156. Stow's account is, "Hee (Henry) restored to his subjects the use of lights in the nights, which lights, and also fire, had beene forbidden by his father to be used after ringing of a bell at eight of the clocke at night." p. 135. This may be only the echo, decies repetita, of a popular story.

[132] The second volume, as printed, of the Domesday Book, ends its account of Suffolk with this annotation: "In the year 1086, this description was made," &c. The same date is given by the old chroniclers, Flor. Wig. p. 449. Hoveden, 460. Sim. Dunel. 213.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. V.

HISTORY OF WILLIAM II. SURNAMED RUFUS.

1087—1100.

CHAP. V.

Coronation, 1087.

WILLIAM had reached the English coast, when the tidings of his father's death overtook him. Hastening to Lanfranc with the dying king's request, that the archbishop should exert his influence to procure William to be elected to the throne of England; the prelate complied with his master's last injunction, and was successful in his solicitation. While Robert was taking possession of Normandy, his younger brother, William, popularly called the Red King[1], from his complexion, or Rufus in his latin etymon, was chosen and crowned king of England. He took possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, and distributed it in the liberalities which his father's charity or his own policy suggested[2].

Odo

[1] Thus Wace calls him "Le reis ros." MS. Bib. Reg.—So Robert of Gloucester:

Wyllam the rede King anon so he adde tydynge
Of hys fader dethe, he let hym crowny to Kynge. p. 383.

And Brunnes Langtoft:—"To William the rede King is given the coroun." p. 85.

[2] Sax. Chron. p. 192. Ingulf states the treasure to have consisted of sixty thousand pounds of silver, besides gold and jewels. p. 106. About this time Ingulf ends his short history, which Petrus Blessensis a while continued.

Odo's machinations.

Odo soon verified the Conqueror's prediction of his turbulence, by exciting the Norman barons into a confederacy, to place Robert on the English throne. Odo is described as a man of great talents and energy, but misplaced in the church. Ambitious, sensual, and daring, he courted the pursuits of the active world, and spurned his ecclesiastical restraints. But many useful qualities accompanied his vices. He was munificent to the poor; he built several splendid edifices; he favoured the progress of the monastic order, then the best instrument of civilization; he sent many persons to the cities, where they might acquire what was then called philosophy, and he supported them liberally while they pursued their studies[3]. But he encouraged the Norman barons to believe, that as they had possessions in England as well as Normandy, it was impossible to please two masters, and therefore that one portion of their property would be in jeopardy, unless both countries were under the same head. This head, as Robert was so tractable, and William unmanageable, ought for their interest to be Robert.

Robert's character.

The character of Robert[4] was a display of some great qualities, debilitated by vice. He was brave, generous, and mild; but so changeable, as to be always indecisive and unsteady. Sometimes daring the most chivalric actions; but in general slothful and voluptuous. Careless of truth, and prodigal of promises, he was soon despised for his falshoods and bad faith. So credulous, that the ill-designing could practise upon him with facility; and so ductile, that even the weak could rule him; his government was neither respected by the great, nor popular with the multitude. Too anxious, from his vanity, to please all, he refused no one. Hence he wasted his noble patrimony in making others powerful enough

[3] Ord. Vit. 665. He had earnestly sought the papacy; and filled the wallets of the pilgrims with letters and money, to purchase the dignity at Rome. Malmsb.

[4] Being short and thick in stature, Robert was called by his father, Court-hose, or Short Breeches. Ord. Vit. 664.

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enough to despise and defy him. The nobles, relying upon his weaknesses, turned the royal officers out of their castles, and claimed and exerted an independence which destroyed the peace and happiness of Normandy. It was the firm maintenance of the royal authority alone, which at that time could awe the rapacious and quarrelsome barons into mutual tranquillity. Their delight was to attack each other, from the love of plunder, the desire of martial praise, the necessity of gratifying their needy followers, and perhaps the want of other employment. Hence, when the power of government relaxed, these feuds and violences revived; and the feeble and irresolute administration of Robert filled Normandy with bloodshed and rapine [5].

He invades England; 1089.

The claim of Robert to succeed his father in England, was supported by the respected rights of primogeniture. But the Anglo-Saxon crown had always been elective; the Conqueror himself had sanctioned the custom, by submitting to it; and Rufus had sought his dignity through the same venerated channel, by which the two next sovereigns also acceded. Primogeniture, therefore, however absolute in determining the succession to landed property, gave at that time no right to the crown of England, independent of the election of its parliamentary assembly. Having secured this title, the power of Rufus rested on the foundation most congenial with the feelings and institutions of the nation, and from their partiality received a popular support, which was soon experienced to be impregnable.

is disappointed.

The danger compelled the king to court his people by promises to diminish their grievances [6]; which drew thirty thousand knights

[5] We derive this picture from Ord. Vit. his contemporary, p. 664. Robert soon becoming necessitous, sold the peninsula of Cotantin, which extends from Cherbourg to Avranche, and formed one-third of his duchy, to his brother Henry, for three thousand pounds of silver. Ib. p. 665.

[6] He procured them, says the Saxon Chronicler,

knights spontaneously to his banners, happy to have got a sovereign distinct from hated Normandy. The invasion of Robert, thus resisted by the English people, effected nothing but some temporary devastations. His friends were defeated; and Odo, with some of the chief barons who had joined him, took refuge in Rochester. The king swore they should be all hanged. His nobles at last obtained a promise, that the offenders might be allowed to leave the country. The concession of this boon, encouraged Odo to ask another—that the royal trumpets might not sound their usual flourish of triumph, as he and his friends quitted the castle. But nothing could induce the king to forego this gratification, and Odo was compelled to evacuate the place amid the exultations of the besieging army and popular taunts. His proud spirit was stung with vexation at the disgrace, and menaced a revenge which he had never the power to inflict[7].

His ill-government in Normandy.

The state of Normandy, under Robert's administration, for some time furnished an ample field for his ambitious uncle's activity. It continued to exhibit government in its most vicious form. The sovereign pursued his personal indulgencies, and left the country to itself: Normandy therefore became, what all countries without government will be, while human passions operate, a scene of the strong and turbulent struggling with each other, and oppressing the weak and peaceful. Odo's advice to Robert, to terminate this disgraceful state, by exerting his power against the lawless and violent, was wise; but in selecting the particular barons, for the first objects of the attack, he aimed to indulge his own vindictive and political purposes. Robert exerted his power, and subdued those

nicler, "better law than ever before was in this land, and all unlawful exaction forbad; and granted to men their woods and hunting." p. 194. But, "hit ne stod nan hwile."

[7] Ord. Vit. 666—669. Griffith ap Cynan, king of Wales, took this opportunity of making a predatory invasion. See Hanes Griff. Welsh Archaiology, vol. 2. p. 598.

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those whom he assailed; but his exertions soon subsided into his habitual inactivity, and he was contented with promises of tranquillity, from such as found themselves unable to resist him. Their resentments increased the influence of William in the dutchy, and Odo's politics only facilitated the reannexation of Normandy to England[8].

His peace with William.

But this event was not completed in William's reign. When he retorted the attempt of Robert, by an invasion of Normandy, the great barons of both countries found themselves endangered by the conflict, and combined their interest to persuade their respective sovereigns to a fraternal pacification. The most important article of their reconciliation provided, that if either should die without issue, the survivor should inherit his dominions. Hostilities were then abandoned; mutual courtesies ensued; and Robert visited England as his brother's guest[9].

William's character.

The mind of William the Red King, was cast in no common mould. It had all the greatness and the defects of the chivalric character, in its strong but rudest state. Impetuous, daring, original, magnanimous, and munificent; it was also harsh, tyrannical, and selfish; conceited of its own powers, loose in its moral principles, and disdaining consequences. The anecdotes which his contemporaries have transmitted to us, concerning him, breathe all the life of reality, and are too original and consistent to have been invented by monkish chroniclers[10].

As he was hunting in a forest in England, a messenger arrived to tell him that the city of Mans, which his brother had lately given to him on the Continent, was besieged by another claimant. He turned his horse's head immediately, and rode to the sea coast. Being

[8] Ord. Vit. 672—676.

[9] Sax. Chron. 197. Flor. Wig. 456. The king of France had at first armed to support Robert, but afterwards abandoned him.

[10] Malmsbury obviously speaks of William with great affection and admiration, though he freely exposes his defects. l. 4. pp. 119—122.

Being reminded that he must first prepare an army and supplies, he exclaimed, "I will see who will follow me. Do you think I shall not have men? If I know my young friends, they will even dare the shipwreck to come to me." He reached the sea almost alone, and found the atmosphere cloudy, the wind adverse, and sweeping the ocean into tempestuous billows. Notwithstanding these appearances, he insisted on sailing; and when the pilot begged him to wait till the weather moderated, "I never heard of a king perishing at sea," he replied; "weigh the anchor[11]." He crossed the ocean in safety; and on the very rumour of his arrival, the hostile baron raised the siege. But the king pursued him till he was taken prisoner. "I have you now, my master," said William, exultingly; but the baron, whose pride of mind was equal to his own, indignantly answered, "By accident, you have got me; but if I could escape, I know what I should do." William, to whose heart fear was a stranger, and who felt a threat as a question of his own prowess, cried out, with the romantic spirit of an Alexander, "Knave! what would you do? Hence—go—fly—I give you leave to do all that you can; and by the face of St. Luke, if you should conquer me, I will ask nothing of you for this lenity[12]."

He displayed a greatness of mind, while besieging Henry in St. Michael's Mount, on an incident where many would have been alive only to resentment. Coming out of his tent, he saw some hostile forces on an eminence, riding vauntingly about; without reflecting on their numbers, or confident that no one could resist him, he presumptuously rushed on them alone and unsupported. His

[11] Malmsb. 124. This writer discredits the supposition that the king imitated Cæsar; and his reason is, that William was so completely illiterate as not to have heard of him. Non erat ei tantum studii vel otii ut literas unquam audiret.

[12] This baron was Helias de Flechia, who, finding the Italian prince, that was sent from Liguria to take possession of Mans as his family inheritance, too feeble-minded to support his claims, had purchased his right to the county for ten thousand shillings. Ord. Vit. 684.

His horse was soon killed; but he continued to fight bravely on foot, till his armour was pierced, and he was thrown to the ground. His antagonist grasped his sword, to give the mortal blow; when William cried out, "Hold, scoundrel! I am the king of England." The soldier's arm was stayed by his reverence and surprise. They raised William from the ground, and mounted him on another horse. The king, looking around with his piercing eyes, asked, which of them had thrown him; the soldier avowed the deed, but declared his ignorance of his rank. "By the face of St. Luke," said the magnanimous king, "you shall now be my soldier, and under my banners[13] enjoy the reward of honourable knighthood."

But the spirit of the chivalric character, and of William, was capricious, and rather the result of personal pride than of moral feeling. William had no repugnance to struggle to dispossess Robert of Normandy; nor did these two princes hesitate to unite, to deprive their brother Henry of his possessions, and to besiege him in his castle. In this siege, Robert surpassed William in generosity. Henry, in distress for water, avowed the situation of his garrison to his brothers; but added, that it was unworthy of them to gain a conquest by a want of one of the common elements of life—the soldier's triumph was in the superiority of his valour, and it was by bravery that victory should be achieved. Robert felt the chivalric appeal, and immediately relaxed the siege, till Henry was supplied. But William was enraged at the indulgence, and reproached the duke for his ignorance of the effectual modes of waging war, since he could thus relieve an enemy. Robert nobly answered, "Absurd! ought I to let our brother die of thirst? If we had lost him, how could we replace him[14]?" The conduct of Robert, in this instance, shews that there was in those days some connection between the qualities which were considered as weakness

[13] Malmsb. 121. [14] Ibid.

weakness of character, and the sympathetic virtues, which are so essential to human happiness and improvement. The milder feelings were budding in Robert's breast; but the dissolute vices destroyed him.

While Lanfranc lived, William had a counsellor whom he respected, and whose good opinion he was careful to preserve: yet, even under Lanfranc's administration, the selfish spirit occasionally burst out. To secure his accession, the king was profuse in his patriotic promises to his people; but when the danger of competition had passed, he forgot his engagements. The archbishop recalled them to his recollection; and William felt it no disgrace to reply, "Who is he that can perform all that he promises[15]?" So little was the true spirit of kingly honour at that time understood.

Changes on Lanfranc's death.

The death of Lanfranc removed the only man whose wisdom and influence could have meliorated the king's ardent, but undisciplined temper. It was his misfortune, on this event, to chuse for his favourite minister, an able, but an unprincipled man, who considered the replenishing the exchequer as the summit of ministerial excellence, and as a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice of the royal character. He first caused all the lands of England to be measured. As the public taxations were then collected from the quantity of hydes which they contained, and as this quantity had been taken upon their former cultivation and ancient estimation; it was obvious that a new admeasurement would greatly increase the royal revenue. But it was a measure unpopular, from the additional burthen which it occasioned; and was felt to be unjust, because the ratio of the established taxations had become a constitutional privilege to the people, and no public necessity demanded the increase. This novelty was followed by another, which deeply affected the whole ecclesiastical body. The minister

[15] Eadmer, 14.

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minister advised the king, on the death of every prelate, to seize all his temporal possessions, and allowing from the incomes only a scanty subsistence for the new dignitary and chapter, to reserve the rest of their produce for his knights and officers. The great revenues obtained from this violent innovation, tempted both the king and his minister to increase its productiveness, by deferring the nomination of every new prelate for an indefinite period[16]. Thus he kept many bishoprics, and among others the see of Canterbury, vacant for some years; till a severe illness alarming his conscience, he suddenly appointed Anselm to the dignity[17]. Anselm was an intelligent and well intentioned man; but as the king was likely to pursue his system of pecuniary encroachments, Anselm saw that it would be his duty to maintain the ancient rights and property of his see. Hence, when the king, raising himself in his bed, said, "I chuse Anselm to be the man," while the bystanders were loudly applauding, Anselm turned pale, and trembled, and refused to accept the promotion[18]. His friends, who perceived that the only chance for preserving the hierarchy in England, was by taking the king's nomination while he was willing to make it, earnestly pressed him to comply. His answer expressed his just conception of the king's character: "You are joining an untamed bull and an old and feeble sheep in the same plough: the sheep will be dragged by his wild and fierce companion

[16] Ord. Vit. 678, 679. The minister was named Ranulph, but was soon called Flambard, or a Burning Flame. He was a clericus who had risen from poverty by his talents. He is described by Vitalis, as keen, sensual, ambitious, rapacious, cruel, and prodigal; and more versed in sophistry than literature. Malmsbury pourtrays him unfavourably, 123. But their descriptions may be strongly charged.

[17] Anselm had been invited by the earl of Chester into England. One of his admirers praising his disinterestedness to William, said, "He loves nothing but his Maker." "No," exclaimed William with a shout of laughter, "not the archbishopric of Canterbury?" "But," adding his usual oath, "neither he nor any one but myself shall now be the archbishop." Eadmer, p. 16. Malmsb. de Gest. Pont. 217.

[18] Malmsb. de Gest. Pont. l. 1. p. 218.

panion through thorns and briars, till she has lost her wool, milk, and lambs, and she will then become of no use either to herself or to others." But as any possibility of good was better than the evil actually endured, his friends continued their solicitations, till Anselm accepted the dignity[19].

His difference with Anselm.

While the king's illness bore a fatal aspect, he was penitent and submissive: he made his confession, and promised amendment of all his errors. He commanded all his prisoners to be released, all his debtors to be forgiven, and all offences to be remitted; and he vowed, that if he recovered, he would govern the people by good and righteous laws[20]. But his good resolutions ceased with his illness; for he was scarcely recovered, when he sent to detain all the prisoners who had not been released, and he reclaimed the debts he had absolved[21].

His disagreement with Anselm soon began. When the prelate brought him five hundred pounds as a voluntary present for his Norman war, the king refused it, expecting it would be doubled. When Anselm asked him to appoint abbots to the vacant abbeys, he replied fiercely, "What is that to you; are not the abbeys mine? Do as you please with your own farms, and I will do as I like with my abbeys." The archbishop replying, that he ought to defend and keep them, and not to invade and plunder them, the king became indignant: "You know that you are saying what is offensive to me: your predecessor would not have dared to have held this language to my father; and I will do nothing for you[22]." As the king had appointed Anselm to the metropolitan honours, in the alarm of a doubtful malady, but had changed his feelings on his recovery,

[19] Eadmer, 16—19. describes in full detail the persevering refusal of Anselm, till his fingers were unclosed, and the crosier forced into his hands. It is clear that he foresaw, rom the king's temper, the struggle which followed, and his love of repose induced him to endeavour to avoid it.

[20] Eadmer, p. 16.

[21] Ib. p. 19.

[22] Ib. pp. 21. 24.

recovery, it is probable that he saw the prelate afterwards with displeasure, as a memorial of his own weakness. On the other hand, though Anselm, as a literary man, was an honour and a benefit to his age, yet his monastic and studious habits prevented him from having that social wisdom, that knowledge of human nature, that discreet use of his own virtuous firmness, and that mild management of turbulent power, which might have enabled him to have exerted much of the influence of Lanfranc over the mind of his sovereign. From the conversation already mentioned, it is clear that William thought he used a style of reproach not sufficiently respectful. Another incident proves that the archbishop had a sturdiness of mind, which would not even attempt to conciliate the king, when he had the opportunity. It was hinted to him, that although William had refused the offered gift of five hundred pounds, because he hoped by the refusal to stimulate him to increase it; yet as that result had failed, that it would please him to have it offered again. Anselm was unwise enough to refuse: and when his counsellors reminded him, that it would be only giving what he had proposed to give, he persevered in his refusal, on the ground, that he had disposed of part to the poor. Few minds could be so weak as not to have discerned that this impolitic parsimony, or rather perverseness, could only exasperate William, by an unnecessary provocation. The king, being informed of his refusal, gave this answer: "I hated him yesterday; I hate him still more to-day; and let him know, that I shall hate him more bitterly, the longer I live. For my father or my archbishop, I will never esteem him; I abhor his benedictions and his prayers. He may go where he will, he will never find me sailing after him[23]."

It is obvious, from these circumstances, that, independently of all political differences, Anselm had so conducted himself as to excite

[23] Eadmer, p. 25.

excite in his sovereign a personal antipathy, which, if it might have been prevented, cannot be excused, as it deprived the country of all the benefits which might have resulted from his judicious councils. The fact seems to have been, that William's faults excited the ill humour of the archbishop; and he at last determined to oppose, what, by wiser conduct, he might have governed or diminished. The king's character, with all its irregularities, belonged to an order of mind above Anselm's comprehension[24].

In this state of mutual aversion, every further communication hastened the public rupture. Anselm asked the royal leave to go to the Roman pontiff, for the pall—the confirmation of his dignity. "From which Pope," (for there were two disputing competitors at that time) "do you mean to ask it?" inquired the king. "From Urban," was the answer. "But you know that I have never accepted him for Pope; and I, like my father, will allow no one to be received as Pope in England, independently of my permission. You might as well try to take away my crown, as to dispossess me of this power." This was the correct feeling of an English sovereign. But Anselm reminded the king, that at his first nomination he had declared he should side with Urban; and he added, that he would not now forsake him. William, with great emotion, told him, that obedience to the Roman see, in contradiction to his sovereign's will, was incompatible with his duty to that sovereign. Anselm desired that a meeting of the Great Council of the kingdom might be called, but protested that he would rather quit the country than fail in his obedience to the vicar of Saint Peter[25].

The

[24] Anselm was injudicious enough to take offence at the courtiers introducing a fashion of long hair, at their having it daily combed, and at their walking delicately. He refused his benediction on Ash Wednesday to those who would not cut their hair. Eadmer, p. 23. Such, however, was the mistaken judgment of his friend and encomiast, Eadmer, that he calls this conduct acting "prudenter et libere." Ibid.

[25] Eadmer, 25, 26.

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The parliament met at Rockingham. At a private meeting of the ecclesiastical members, Anselm endeavoured to impress them with his feelings; but they intimated to him in secret, what they avowed openly in parliament, that they should not support him against the king on this question; and they recommended him to abide by the decision of the Great Council. Unfortunately, Anselm rejected with disdain this patriotic feeling, and declared his unqualified reference to the will of the Pope, whom he called the prince of all, the Angel of the Great Council. The parliament was agitated with indignation: they threatened to carry his words to the king. He chose to be his own messenger, and went himself to the king, to repeat what he had expressed. He had now visibly made up his mind to be the martyr of the papal supremacy; and he acted upon his determination with great courage and constancy. The king endeavoured to dispossess him of the see; but finding himself unable to effectuate a measure so violent, the proceedings were suspended[26].

Urban, after this, contrived to appease William, by appearing to favour some of his measures; which occasioned the sarcastic remark, "If Rome prefers money to justice, what consolation can they hope to receive in their oppressions, who have not the means of giving what will alone procure it[27]?" The king now ordered Urban to be acknowledged as Pope; and this terminated one of the points of difference between him and the archbishop.

But new enmities soon burst out. The king, returning from an expedition against the Welsh, accused Anselm of sending, for the knights he was bound to provide, persons neither fit for war, nor properly supplied. And Anselm, seeing the churches and abbeys oppressed in their property, by the royal orders, resolved to visit Rome,

[26] Eadmer, 27. 31.

[27] Eadmer, 32. The pope, at William's request, sent the pall to Anselm in England, instead of compelling the archbishop, as was usual, to go to Rome for it. p. 33.

Rome, and to concert with the pope the measures most adapted to overawe the king. It was necessary to ask leave to quit the country; this was peremptorily refused; the request was twice renewed, with the like success. Again the bishops declined to support him; and William threatened, that if he did go to Rome, he would seize all the possessions of the archbishopric. Anselm declared, that he would rather travel naked and on foot, than desist from his resolution; and he went to Dover with his pilgrim's staff and wallet. He was searched before his departure, that he might carry away no money; and was at last allowed to sail. But the king immediately executed his threat, and sequestered all his lands and property. This was about three years before the end of the reign. Anselm sent his complaint to the pope, and soon arrived at Rome. Urban wrote to William, exhorting him to restore what he had seized, but abstained from more violent measures; and Anselm continued in Italy till William's death[28].

Incidents of his reign.

The possession of Normandy was a leading object of William's ambition, and he gradually attained a preponderance in it. His first invasion compelled Robert to make some cessions; these were increased on his next attack: and when Robert determined to join the Crusaders, he mortgaged the whole of Normandy to William, for three years, for ten thousand marks[29].

He obtained the usual successes of a powerful invasion in Wales. The

[28] Eadmer, who accompanied the archbishop in his exile, details these transactions, 37—50.

[29] Ord. Vit. 693. 697. Eadmer, 35. Sax. Chron. 196. In the year 1091, Ordericus introduces a dream of a priest, which displays some fancy, but which is more remarkable for shewing that Blacks were then known in Europe: he mentions a trunk carried by two Æthiops; and afterwards, mentioning an army quite black, calls it an Agmen Æthiopum, 694, 695. But we learn the same curious fact from Domesday Book, where one is mentioned with the Servi in England. In the enumeration of Glowecestersciré, we have 8 servi et unus *Afrus*. p. 165. There is also a person called Matthus de Mauritania, p. 170.

The natives were overpowered on the plains, but annoyed the invaders in their mountains[30].

He marched an army against Malcolm king of Scotland, to punish his incursions. Robert advised the Scottish king to conciliate William; Malcolm yielded to his counsel, and accompanied Robert to the English court; but on his return, was treacherously attacked by Mowbray, the earl of Northumbria, and killed. William regretted the perfidious cruelty of the action; and on a subsequent occasion, when Mowbray, by his arbitrary depredations and conspiracies, provoked the exertion of his power, defeated and consigned him to a dungeon[31].

His temper.

The government of William appears to have been beneficial, both to England and Normandy. To the church it was oppressive. But in that day, when a serious contest had begun, whether civil monarchy, or hierarchy, should be the actual government of Europe, he may have felt the importance of diminishing the power of the church; and it was the vicious propensity of his temper, to act on his impressions with violence and precipitation. His character was as arbitrary as his father's, but more generous and spirited. He suspected no one; he feared no one—scarcely, it is said, even the Supreme. In public, his gait was erect; his countenance proud; his eyes fixing and intimidating; his voice loud and vehement. In

[30] See Sax. Chron. 203. 205.; and the Hanes Gruffud ap Cynan, p. 598. This royal Welsh adventurer, whose life was full of vicissitudes, which his hanes, or history, narrates, surprised one of William's barons. Gruffyth, with three ships, attacked the border lord's territory. The sea ebbing, left the vessels on dry land, while Gruffyth was plundering. The baron hearing of his attack, started from his bed, and hastened, with the followers he could assemble at the moment, to punish the assailants. From the top of a hill he saw the Welshmen binding their captives, and hurrying the cattle to the ships. Irritated at the sight, he rushed madly down the descent, though without his armour, followed only by one knight. His shield was soon covered with arrows, and his body pierced with their darts. No one durst approach him while he could stand; but when he sank from loss of blood, they cut off his head, and, fastening it to their mast, sailed away in triumph. Ord. Vit. 670.

[31] Ord. Vit. 701. 703. Sax. Chr. 198. 202.

In private, he was all humour, vivacity, and facetiousness. To his opponents, he was severe, even to ferocity; to his knights, good natured, affable, and convivial[32].

His extravagance.

His munificence was so lavish, that he soon exhausted his father's treasure. But although his resources failed him, his liberal spirit never quitted him: the habit of giving, became a part of his nature. He viewed all things with a magnificent mind. Hence he one day threw away a pair of new hose with disdain, because they had only cost three shillings. "A king should not wear," said he, "things so parsimonious; fetch me some worth a mark of silver[33]." That the sovereign should labour to excel his subjects, in dignity of mind, exalted virtue, and wise munificence, is unquestionably proper, and the blessings of mankind will be his reward; but to waste his funds in the fastidious expenses of personal luxury, pride, or in liberalities to the unworthy who happen to be about him, is

[32] Malmsb. 122. Ord. Vit. 771. Huntingdon says, that he was ferus ultra hominem, p. 378. This trait was derived from his father. The tempers of parents early attract the notice, and impress the imaginations, of children.

[33] Malmsb. 123. Robert of Gloucester's description of this incident, may be cited as a specimen of this old versifier's best manner:—

There ne should non mete ne drynke,
bote it were overdear
Come in hys wombe, ne cloth over
hys swere.
When it come before him, he nolde
thereof nought
Nere it no so little worth but it were
dear ybought.
As his chamberlain him brought, as
he rose a day
A morrow for to weare a pair hose
of say,
He asked "What they costened?"—
'Three shilling,' the other seyde.
"Fy a debles," quoth the king,—
"Who say so vile deed,
Kyng to wearye any cloth but it
costened more.
Buy a pair of a mark, other thou
shat be acorye sore."
A worse pair of ynou the other
suththe him brought,
And said 'They were for a mark
and unnethe so ybought.'
"Ye bel ami," quoth the king, "they
were well ybought;
"In this manner serve me, other thou
ne shalt me serve nought."
Chron. pp. 389, 390.

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is an absurd misuse of his power, which the nation will rue, and knaves abuse. The reputation of Rufus has suffered from this folly.

William had all the feelings of the chivalric king, and delighted to be surrounded with knights. To them he was profuse, and the fame of his military liberalities became so diffused over Europe and the East, that knights flocked to him from every region, and were splendidly rewarded[34]. But this profusion was rather the result of vanity, than of the generous virtues: it was so connected with selfish feelings, that when it had exhausted his usual means, he had no repugnance to enforce the most unjust and scandalous measures to obtain them from his people. Heavy burthens were imposed upon the country; and their weight was aggravated by the rapacity of the minister[35]. Ecclesiastical benefices were not only kept vacant, that the royal exchequer might reap their produce, but they were afterwards shamelessly sold to the highest purchaser. The moral principle of the nation, thus contaminated in its most venerated source, degenerated among all ranks. Around the throne were rapacity, profusion, and profligacy; which they, who had the means, became emulous to imitate, and which they, who could not imitate,

[34] Malmsb. 123. Hence Suger, the contemporary French minister, calls him mirabilis militum mercator, et soldator. Hist. Franc.—Wace says, he did not hear any knight praised for his prowess, without enrolling him in his service.

Li reis ros fu de grant noblesce
Proz, et de mult grant largesce.
N'oist de chevalier parler,
Qui de proesse oist loer,
Qui en son brief escrit ne fust,
Et qui par an del soen n'eust.
MS. Bib. Reg.

[35] William sometimes stript the churches of their plate. The MS. of Waltham Abbey, written soon after his reign, gives an instance of this, to an amount scarcely credible. The author says, "We have found, in an authentic writing in the hands of the Master Athelard, that Rufus took from Waltham Abbey, at one time, £. 6,666. pounds in gold and silver vessels, crosses, embroidery, and other ornaments." The writer says he was educated by Peter, the son of Master Athelard, the institutor and ordinator of Waltham Church. MS. Cott. Julius D. 6. This is contemporary authority; but the sum compels a doubt if it has been correctly transcribed.

imitate, beheld only to revile and covet[36]. Yet sometimes, amid this gross misconduct, the king's natural greatness would break out. Thus, when two monks were outbidding each other for a rich abbey, he asked a third, who was standing by, silent, How much he would give? The monk said he had no money; and if he had been richer, his conscience would not have sanctioned such an application. The king, interested by his integrity, swore by St. Luke, that he best deserved it, and should have it for nothing. When we read in Malmsbury, that while Lanfranc lived, he shrunk with abhorrence from all dishonourable crime; that he afterwards for some time stood as in a balance between his virtues and his vices, and that magnanimity was the natural characteristic of his mind[37]; we cannot avoid regretting that Anselm did not take more trouble to acquire his confidence, and to guide his ardent but impetuous soul, by gentle wisdom and conciliating manners, into the true paths of personal honour and public virtue: A noble and useful reign might then have been the result[38].

His defects.

Left to himself, with unprincipled and rapacious ministers, in an ignorant age—undisciplined, and illiterate,—he knew not the true principles of moral greatness:—nor was he able to acquire the habit of self-government, the most indispensable of all habits, both to kings

[36] Malmsb. 123. Several bishopries and abbeys were found vacant on the king's death, which he had farmed out.

[37] So says Malmsbury, 122. who speaks in high terms of him. He says, he was beyond all doubt a prince incomparable in his age. p. 119. At one time he compares his spirit to that of Alexander; at another he mentions, that if he could have believed in transmigration, he should have thought that the soul of Julius Cæsar had passed into Rufus.—Malmsbury kindly says, de tanto rege mala dicere erubesco. p. 123.

[38] Anselm is highly praised, and deserves celebrity; but that he wanted either the suaviter in modo, or the art of choosing the mollia tempora fandi, seems inferable from the king's inflexible dislike to him. After he had been some time out of England, on the rumour of a new pope, William asked what sort of a man he was; 'Somewhat like Anselm,' was the answer. "Like Anselm," exclaimed the king, with his usual oath, "then he is worth nothing." Eadm. 54.—Facts like these imply a personal aversion, which is more likely to have been caused by offensive manner, than by the political opposition.

kings and subjects. There was nothing about his clergy who approached him, to interest him; for some were mere soldiers, some voluptuaries, some but mercenary politicians. Hence he contracted an indifference to religion, and occasionally a contempt for it. To invite the Jews to dispute publicly against his bishops, with a sarcastic assertion, that he would embrace the faith of the conquerors[39]; and to take money from the Jews, for compelling their sons who had become Christians, to return to Judaism; shew a laxity of principle about the most sacred of all obligations, which no wise man will encourage, and no good man imitate. The instance given by Eadmer, displays this vice in a characteristic, but most censurable light. A Jew complained to him with tears, that he had lost his son, implored his pity, and petitioned, that he would order the youth to return to his paternal faith. The king gave no answer, as he saw no reason for his interference. The Jew, knowing his necessities, promised him sixty marks. William sent for the young man, mentioned his father's request, and commanded him to return to Judaism. The son expressed his supposition, that the king was joking with him. "Son of a dunghill!" exclaimed William, "do you think I should joke with you? Obey my orders instantly, or, by the face of St. Luke, you shall lose your eyes." The youth, with a virtuous spirit, adhered to his adopted religion, and respectfully suggested to the king, that it was his duty, as a Christian sovereign, to protect those who professed Christianity. The king did not attempt to execute his threats, but sent for his father, and demanded the sixty marks. The father objected, that his son was unconverted. The king is stated to have answered, "I did what I could, and though I have not succeeded, I will not submit to work without reward." The Jew

[39] Malmsb. 123.

Jew was forced to pay half the stipulated sum[40]. No character shews more than William's, the necessity of acquiring early a fixed moral principle, and the wisdom of basing that upon its most natural and best foundation. No life more forcibly inculcates the evil, of allowing the mind to sport with its sacred duties. Thus left without their most effective guide, his high talents and impulses became spoilt and degraded amid the temptations and necessities of life. Formed by nature for great things, he misapplied her bounty, and threw himself away[41].

His death, 1100.

He had scarcely reigned twelve years, when he fell by a violent death. The night before it occurred, he was troubled with a disagreeable dream; and on the morning of the fatal day, a confidential ecclesiastic repeated to him another. The king burst into a loud laugh, on hearing it, telling him, that the dreamer was a monk, and for the sake of money had dreamt like a monk: he ordered him a hundred shillings. An impression had however been made upon his spirits, and he declined his

[40] We have this incident from a contemporary, Eadmer, p. 47. whom Malmsbury styles "an historian to be praised, for his sincerity and truth," p. 125.: and we have seen how anxious Malmsbury was, not to dispraise the king. The anecdote possesses an individual life and harmony of character, with the best attested facts of Rufus, which plead in favour of its veracity.

[41] Ingentia parturiens animus, says Malmsbury, p. 119. We have another incident, preserved by the Norman chronicler, which displays both the spirit and the faults of his character. A baron told him he was going on the crusades, and therefore hoped he would leave his territory (Mans) in peace while he was gone. "Go where you please," said William, "but I will have your city." The baron answered, that he possessed it by hereditary right, and if the king disputed that, he was ready to plead before the proper court. "I will plead with you," replied the king, "but my lawyers will be swords, and spears, and arrows." When the baron urged, that he had taken up the cross, and that he would mark it on his shield, his helmet, his saddle, and his horses; and, thus become a soldier of Christ, he would leave his cause to the protection of heaven;—the king, unmoved by an appeal then so solemnly revered, jestingly answered, "Do as you like—I do not want to war with crusaders, but I will have the land my father had; so you had better fortify your city, and animate your men, for I shall certainly pay you a visit, with 100,000 lances at my heels." Ord. Vit. 769.

his usual hunting before dinner. He went to his repast, indulged copiously at it, and drank more liquor than he was accustomed to. Animated by the banquet, he resolved to have the sport he had deferred, and went with a few attendants into the New Forest. It happened that, his friends dispersing in pursuit of game, he was left alone, as some authorities intimate, with Walter Tyrrel, a noble knight, whom he had brought out of France, and admitted to his table, and to whom he was much attached. As the sun was about to set, a stag passed before the king, who discharged an arrow at it: the animal was wounded, but did not fall, and the king pursued its motions with his eyes, raising his hand to screen them from the horizontal rays of the departing sun. At the same moment, another stag crossing, Walter Tyrrel discharged an arrow at it. At this precise juncture, a shaft struck the king, and buried itself in his breast. He fell, without a word, upon the arrow, and expired on the spot. Walter ran to him, but finding him breathless, became alarmed for his own safety, and, remounting his horse, fled straight to the sea, and crossed over to Normandy; those who were about conniving at his escape. Though Henry was at the hunt in the forest, the king's death was not immediately known to him. Some rustics saw the body, and carried it in their cart to Winchester[42]. The arrow was found broken, and part sticking in his breast. He died, says Malmsbury, meditating great things, and would probably have achieved them. He does not disclose what he alludes to; but we learn from the French minister of the time, that his object was believed to be no less than the crown of France[43].

It

[42] Malmsbury, p. 126. and Ordericus, 782. make the arrow to have come from Tyrrel's bow.

[43] Suger mentions this as the common opinion. Vit. Lud. Grossi. p. 96. Gaimar, in his Anglo-Norman Poem, describes the king as conversing with Tyrrel on this subject, and proposing to attack Mans, Poitou, Burgundy, and France. MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A. 21.

Doubts of its author.

It seems to be a questionable point, whether Walter Tyrrel actually shot the king. That opinion was certainly the most prevalent at the time, both here and in France. But the French abbot says, "I have heard Walter Tyrrel often swear, and solemnly declare, and at a period when he had nothing to fear or hope from the avowal, that he had not come into that part of the forest in which the king was hunting, nor had he seen him at all in the forest[44]." Eadmer relates, that in the opinion of many the king had stumbled, and fell upon an arrow[45]. Gaimar, a contemporary versifier, or nearly so, says, "an arrow struck the king, but we do not know who held the bow; but the other archers said, that the shaft had come from Walter Tyrrel's[46]." John of Salisbury says, that when he wrote, it was as doubtful by whom William was killed, as it was by whom Julian the Apostate fell[47]. On the other hand, the writers are numerous, who ascribe the catastrophe to Walter Tyrrel[48]. None of the authorities intimate a belief of a purposed assassination[49]; and therefore, it would be unjust now to impute it to any one.

Wace, who was almost a contemporary, seems unable to decide on the real cause of the casualty. He enumerates the various opinions

[44] Suger, Vit. Lud. p. 97.

[45] Eadm. p. 54.

[46] MS. Bib. Reg. 13 A. 21.

Des ci alquer le rei feri
Une saiete et quer li vint
Mes ne savoin ki l'arc sustint
Mes co disaient le altre archer
Ke le eissi del arc Walter.

He adds that this was probable, because he fled, Semblant en fu kar tost fui.

Peter Langtoft, in his Chronicle, states the same;

Et ly francays Tirel se pressayt a seter,
Qui de ferir la beste et fert le rays alquer.
MS. Cott. Lib. Julius A. 5.

[47] Vita Anselmi.

[48] Malmsb. 126. Ord. Vit. 782. Matt. Par. 54. Hunt. 378. Hoveden, 467. Chron. Petrib. 57. Petri Bless. Cont. 110. Chr. Mailros, 162. Chr. Th. Wikes, 24. Ann. Wav. 141. Sim. Dun. 225. Rad. Dic. 498. Bromton, 996. Rob. Glouc. 419. Matt. West. 21. So MS. Chron. I. de Taxter, Julius A. 1. p. 54. and Chron. I. Pike, Julius D. 6. p. 46.

[49] It is just to Anselm's memory to state, that he received the news of William's death with great sympathy and emotion. Eadm. 55.

opinions of the day upon it; but leaves the question in as much doubt as he found it[50].

[50] His account is;—

Gautier Tirel un chevalier
Qui en la cort esteit mult chier;
Une saiete del reis prist
Dont il l'occist si com l'en dist.

En la nove forest entrerent
Cers et bisses, berser quiderent,
Lor agace par la forest firent,
Mais a grant dol se departirent.

Ne sai qui traist, ne qui laissa;
Ne qui feri, ne qui bersa;
Mais co dis l'en, ne sai s'il fist,
Que Tirel traist, le rei ocist.

Plusers dient qu'il trebucha,
En sa cote s'empecha,
Et la saiete trestorna,
Et le acier el rei cola.

Alquers dient qui Tirel volt
Ferir un cerf, qui trespassout
Entre lui et le rei coreit,
E il traist qui entese aveit;

Mais sa saiete glaceia
La fleche a un arbre freia;
Et la saete traversa,
Le rei feri, mort le rua.

Wace, Roman. de Normandie,
MS. Bib. Reg. 4. C. 11.

If we believe Walter Tyrrel's declaration of his innocence, the question recurs, whether the king fell accidentally on the arrow, or was assassinated. The previous dream of the ecclesiastic, and the prediction, to Henry in the forest, that he would soon be king, which Wace mentions after the above extract, are circumstances that might be construed to imply the knowledge of some plot. It was the misfortune of Rufus, that his death benefited so many—Henry, France, and the clergy,—that no critical inquiry was made into its cause.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. VI.

ON CHIVALRY AND KNIGHT-ERRANTRY IN ENGLAND AND NORMANDY.

CHAP. VI.

THE internal state of England, and Europe, at the close of the eleventh century, presented the political anomaly, of countries with governments that were nominally monarchical, infested with a host of petty sovereigns, in every part, who were despotic in the territories they occupied, and who acknowledged in the king little else than a titular superiority, and the right of receiving, for a few weeks in the year, their military attendance. These petty sovereigns were the lords or barons, who shared the landed property of the kingdoms. As they had originally acquired their property by the sword, especially in Normandy and England, by the sword they were obliged to preserve it. They were perpetually striving to dispossess each other by violence; and this singular state of their aristocratical society, made chivalry and knight-errantry both popular and necessary.

Estates are now held on written muniments, and their peaceable possession is guarded and guaranteed by law, easily enforced with the whole executive power of the country. But

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in those times, when they were often conferred by the gift of a horn, or an arrow, and the monarch had but feeble means to enforce right or to punish wrong, it is obvious that possession was the great evidence of title, and he that had strength sufficient to wrest lands from another, usually kept his acquisition till superior violence forced it from him. In this state of society, the services of knights were every where wanted by the great proprietors of estates, as well to defend their ancient occupations, as to enable the more ambitious to obtain others. Knights, therefore, were perpetually errant, or travelling about in quest of adventures or employment; some from the pleasure of the expedition, and some for its expected profits. They often met the oppressed or the unsuccessful; and they cheerfully engaged themselves to redress those wrongs which laws were too feeble to remedy, and for redressing which, honour, plunder, or rich donations, became usually their compensation.

In the first century after the Norman conquest, this state of things pervaded Normandy and England; as a few instances will shew. William Rufus permitted his young knights and squires to amuse themselves by plundering the estates of the country nobility with impunity[1]. Rapine was so usually the employment of the young nobles, that it is mentioned as a mark of the persuasive talents of an abbot of Tewksbury, that he drew many from it to a peaceful life[2]. It is noticed of several, that in their youth they exercised themselves in rapine and robbery[3]. Thus, a young nobleman met a monk travelling with a servant, both on horseback; he dismounted them without ceremony, and took their horses:

[1] Ord. Vit. 680. As soon as the Conqueror had died, the Norman nobles turned his officers out of their territories, got possession of the castles on their estates, and then began attacking and plundering each other as their means of oppression permitted. Ord. Vit. 664.

[2] Ord. Vit. 600.

[3] As in Ord. Vit. 627.

horses: nor could the monk get any redress, by applying to his father[4]. Here was precisely a case, in which, if he had met another knight-errant, or travelling knight, he might have found an immediate protector. We find the nobles in Normandy described as augmenting their possessions by violence, and compelling the peasantry to build them castles, for the maintenance of their extorted acquisitions[5]. The consequence of such things was perpetual retaliation. Thus one young lord was led, by the persuasions of others like himself, to pursue this rapacious system; and the neighbouring adventurers plundered in their turn on his territory[6]. In the same manner a great baron is described, as excelling his countrymen in these achievements; building a strong castle, filling it with adventurers; seizing other castles by craft or force, sometimes imprisoning the lords, and sometimes extorting money from their ransoms[7]. The same character is given of another powerful baron, enriched by his depredations. His castle, which was called a den of thieves, he fortified with ditches and thick hedges, from which, all his life, he was darting out to exercise rapine and bloodshed. He had seven sons, and he trained them up to the same employment[8]. From these instances, it will be easily

[4] Ord. Vit. 603.

[5] Ord. Vit. 673. William of Tyre marks the depredating habits of the eleventh century: "The superior chiefs, who ought to have directed their subjects to peace, contending with each other for petty causes, filled the country with burnings, exercised plunder every where, and exposed the goods of the weaker to rapine, by their impious satellites. The property of no one was safe." p. 634.

[6] Ord. Vit. 593. [7] Ib. 596.

[8] Ib. 685. The dying conversation of a powerful baron, repeated by Huntingdon, shews how the Great strove to enlarge their possessions by depredation. "As the archbishop and ministers were receiving his confession, they urged him to restore the lands which he had taken away by force or guile. He answered, 'If I separate the estates I have amassed, what shall I leave to my children?' They replied, 'Let your ancient inheritances suffice them, which you justly acquired; restore the rest, or you will devote your soul to hell.' The baron paused, but decided—'No; I will leave my sons all, and they must act in mercy to my soul.' He died with all his accumulations; and his sons, in mercy to his soul, imitated his example, and by new violence and injustice, extorted new possessions." Hunt. de contemptu Mundi. ap. Wharton, 2 Anglo-Sac. 697, 698.

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easily conceived, how greatly the exertions of knights were every where wanted; and that knight-errantry, or the system of knights travelling about in quest of adventure or employment, was a popular and lucrative profession. Till the increasing power of the monarch had pervaded every part of the country, and compelled the great to respect the voice of law, and to feel the punishment of offended justice, no class of population could be more valued, or even useful, than these knight-adventurers.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the violent spirit of the age. The chancellor of Rufus is described as directing all his sagacity to disinherit the weaker minded, and to extort money[9]. A great baron of that period, not only laid all the churches near him under contribution, he also put his own wife into prison, and in fetters, to compel her to give up her property; and he carried a naked sword under his cloak, with which, when the humour seized, he stabbed, with shouts of laughter, any one near him, whom he could attack with impunity. His possessions he daily increased by new rapacity; and such was the influence of his power, and the terror of his character, that this monster was admired and venerated[10]. The famous Robert de Belesme was of this sort. He preferred to see his captives perish, to being liberated; he would thrust out the eyes of children with his thumb, and impale those of either sex, whom he disliked. It was his ambition to be wondered at, and to have his extravagancies made the subject of vulgar proverbs[11]. We may reasonably ask, Can such things have been? But if we recollect that these barons, in the first reigns after the conquest, were as absolute in their domains as an emperor of Morocco; as illiterate; and daily in the use of arms and violence, from their babyhood, and countenanced by the general practice of all around them;

[9] Hunt. de cont. 698.
[10] Ib.
[11] Ib. and 699. And see the picture of another of these great robbers, in William of Newberry, l. 1. c. 11. p. 37. ed. Par. 1610.

them; our astonishment will subside into gratitude, at the happy improvements which society has since received. It is true that most of these ministers of cruelty died violently, because those "who live by the sword will perish by the sword." But while such habits lasted, the institution or practice of knight-errantry was an advantage to the community. Unquestionably, many of them consulted the benefit of an exploit, rather than its morality; but while society was in this state of military chaos, there was so much injustice, perpetually arising, to redress, that their exertions could not fail to be often on the side of right: there were always tyrant barons to be conquered; captives to be released; ladies to be assisted; and caitiffs castles, that defied law, to be taken: and therefore a knight-errant, with a moderate portion of true chivalry and religious feeling, could easily contrive to unite his interest with his conscience, and relieve, with profit as well as credit to himself, the brave and injured, by his valour[12].

No fact perhaps will more strongly attest the truth of the revolting picture that we have been contemplating, than the circumstance, that in our Stephen's reign even some of our bishops encouraged the practice of depredation, and partook of the profit. "The bishops, the bishops themselves," says a contemporary, "I blush to say it—yet not all, but many—bound in iron and completely furnished with arms, were accustomed to mount war-horses with the perverters of their country, to participate in their prey; to expose to bonds and torture, the knights whom they took in the chance of war, or whom they met full of money: and while they themselves were the head and cause of so much wickedness and enormity, they ascribed it to their knights[13]."

In

[12] The knight, or vavasor, who claimed the land where the Conqueror was about to be buried, as his own, unjustly torn from him, is called by Wace, - - un Vavasor errant,

Qui la presse vint derompant.—MS.

[13] Gesta Stephan. ap. Duchesne, p. 962. He adds, "That I may not at present mention others, for it would be indecent to carp equally at all, public fame declaims against the bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Chester, as more intent than others on these irreligious pursuits."

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In great national emergencies, kings invited knights to their courts by profuse liberality. We have already mentioned, that they travelled to the court of William the Conqueror and his son, from all parts, when the sovereigns had made it public that they wanted their services. Knights were the disciplined and effective soldiery of the day. They were the only part of the military that were completely armed; and their skill and power in the use of their weapons, made their exertions the usual means of victory.

We have a complete instance of the achievements of a knight-errant, even so late as Edward I. This prince, travelling through Burgundy, heard of a noble living by rapine and spoil, in a very strong castle. In the true spirit of chivalry in its most generous heroism, Edward attacked this castle, to deliver the country from the violence of its master; took it; and then gave it disinterestedly away to the count of Savoy[14]. Even our John furnishes us with an instance of a similar kind. He came to the castle of a very brave knight, but who was intent on rapine, and despoiling his neighbours, and who robbed all that travelled that road. John attacked him with his forces, and the predatory knight was strong enough to hold out for three weeks against his attacks[15].

The importance of knight-adventurers, while government was weak, and the police imperfect, appears from many instances. When the Anglo-Saxon nobles, who disliked the Normans, fled with their families to the woods, and sought subsistence by rapine, the districts which they could pervade became so unsafe, that every man was obliged to fortify his house, like a besieged castle, every night; and prayers were said by the elder of the family, on the shutting of his doors and windows, as in a tempest at sea. Hence the abbots of St. Alban's gave a part of their manors, to have knights engaged to watch the roads, and keep them safe from all assailants[16]. In

[14] Matt. West. 353. [15] Rigordus Philipp. l. 1. p. 215.
[16] Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. 45, 46.

In Stephen's reign, we find the country in the same state. Knights of all kinds flocked into it, and especially from Flanders and Bretagne, who distinguished themselves for their rapine[17]. In John's reign, we are told that all the castles of the country were the caves of robbers and the dens of thieves[18]. One of these powerful depredators is described to be as complete a caitiff as any knight-errant in romance chastised. He was accustomed to boast, that he had assisted to burn twenty-four monks, with their church. He is stated to have anointed his captives with honey, and to have exposed them naked under a burning sun, for insects to torment. He seized a castle, and was sending for knights from Flanders to defend it, when another knight, more gentle, came to the relief of the county, took him, and hung him up[19]. When Anselm went to Rome, he passed through Burgundy. The report of his title reached the ears of a baron, and he hastened to plunder him. The archbishop had turned out of the road, to refresh his train with a repast. The baron burst upon them, seized their horses, and was fiercely advancing to take them, when the reverend countenance of Anselm interested his sympathy, and stopped his violent purposes[20]. These instances are sufficient to shew the rise of knights-errant travelling the country to prevent or punish such acts of violence; and our old satirist, Pierce Plowman, implies that they actually did roam about for this purpose[21].

Another important use of knights, and which must have long continued

[17] Malmsb. 179.
[18] Matt. Paris, Abb. 118.
[19] Malmsb. 186.
[20] Eadmer, 42.

[21] He says,

- - - Knyghtes shoulde - - -
Ryden and rappe adoune in remes aboute
And to take trespassours and tyen hem faste.
- - - - - - - - - - - -
Trewely to take and treweliche to fyghte,
Ys the profession and the pure ordre that
apendeth to Knyghtes.

1st Vision.

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continued the profession, was the feudal obligation attached to all land, that a certain number of knights should be furnished, at the call of the sovereign, for a certain number of hides. The clergy were always obliged to retain the necessary quantity of knights to perform the service for them, as they could not do it themselves; and we often find, in the enumeration of the possessions of a church, the land let or given to knights, as the hire of their military services. The baron or his children might attend for themselves; but when their possessions were large, as a knight was to be found for every twenty pounds a year of landed property, they were under the necessity of retaining many knights to fulfil their feudal obligation[22]. Knights also became a necessary part of both regal and baronial state. Thus Thomas à Becket had 700 knights as part of his household, besides 1200 stipendiary retainers, and 4,000 followers, serving him forty days[23]. The legal service of a knight, for the land which he held by military tenure, was to serve forty days at his own costs, where the king went against his enemies[24].

Knights were usually persons of birth, but not always so; the lower ranks were sometimes raised to the honour, for extraordinary valour. Thus Rufus knighted the soldier who had unhorsed him[25]. So the emperor, observing great bravery in an individual of inferior condition, at the attack of a castle, ordered him to be honoured with the military belt. He answered, however, that as he was a plebeian, he chose to remain so, because his condition was sufficient for him[26]. Indeed as society advanced, knighthood became

[22] The value of twenty pounds a year, is put as the fee for a knight, by the 1 Edw. II.—In 1253, every person having 15 libratas terræ, was ordered to be made a knight. Matt. Paris, 864.

[23] Stephanides, 22, 23.

[24] Mes tus jurs par le service de un chivaler attendirent au roi quaraunt jurs sur lur custages de meyne p. la ou le roy deveit aler sur ses enemis. Rotul. Parliam. 6 Edw. I. p. 11.

[25] See before, p. 114.

[26] Otto. Frising. Urtizii, p. 458.

became so expensive, that statutes were made to compel the holders of adequate portions of land to assume the dignity. Knighthood being an honour additional to nobility[27], and emulously sought for by it, embraced in its ranks persons very unequal in wealth. The richer knights distinguished themselves by luxuries, which were complained of. Thus 1,000 of them are said to have appeared one day in silk cointises, and the next day in new robes[28]. And John of Salisbury found their luxurious habits so increasing, that he has left us a copious declamation against them[29].

This author tells us how knights should qualify themselves for their duty. They must learn from the beginning, to labour, run, carry weights, and bear the sun and dust; to use sparing and rustic food; sometimes to live in the open air, and sometimes in tents; then to practise the use of arms[30]. He draws a strong picture of the effeminate knight; which proves to us that in his time, the reign of Henry II. this order was beginning to degenerate, or rather perhaps that society was becoming, happily for its comfort, less warlike[31].

The

[27] Thus we frequently read of nobles not yet distinguished by knighthood, and of others attaining it. 2 Gale Script. 60. 71. Matt. Par. 323.

[28] Matt. Paris, 829.

[29] In his Polycraticus, 181.

[30] Polycrat. 181.

[31] He says, "Some think that military glory consists in this; that they shine in elegant dress, that they make their clothes tight to their body, and so bind on their linen or silken garments as to seem a skin coloured like their flesh. If they are sitting softly on their ambling horses, they think themselves so many Apollos. If you make an army of them, you will have the camp of Thaïs, not of Hannibal. Each is boldest in the banquetting hall, but in the battle every one desires to be the last; they would rather shoot arrows at the enemy than come to close fighting.

"When they return home without a scar, they sing triumphantly of their battles, and boast of the thousand deaths that wandered near their temples. If diligent idleness can procure any spears, which, being brittle as hemp, should chance to be broken in the field; if a piece of gold, minium, or any colour of the rainbow, by any chance or blow should fall out of their shields; their garrulous tongues would make it an everlasting memorial. They have the first places at supper. They feast every day splendidly, if they can afford it; but shun labour and exercise like a dog or a snake. Whatever is surrounded with difficulty, they leave to those who serve them. In the mean time, they so gild

CHAP. VI. CHIVALRY AND KNIGHT ERRANTRY IN

The true merit of a knight is correctly stated by a Troubadour. "It is to fight well; to conduct a troop well; to do his exercise well; to be well armed; to ride his horse well; to present himself with a good grace at courts, and to render himself agreeable there." He adds, "Seldom are all these qualities united[32]." This is very probable: to unite martial habits and vigour with the courteous elegancies of polished life, could not be often accomplished in a half civilized age.

Knighthood was conferred by investing the person with a belt[33], in which a sword was inserted[34]. It was necessary that he should be a freeman[35]. There was no limit as to age[36]. Abbots were at length forbidden to make them[37]; but bishops, knights, and princes, had the power[38]. To command knights, it was proper to be a knight[39].

The ceremony of conferring knighthood, was solemn and splendid. The Anglo-Saxon custom was, that the intended knights should confess themselves, and watch all the preceding night in a church[40]. The Normans thought this too unwarlike; but even they admitted it to be connected in some measure with religion, by taking an oath when they were dubbed[41]. Hence, John of Salisbury says, "without the religion of an oath, none is bound with the belt of knighthood[42];" and on the day of their being dubbed,

gild their shields, and so adorn their camps, that you would think every one, not a scholar, but, a chieftain of war." Polycrat. p. 181.

[32] Arnaud de Marveil in St. Palaye's Hist. Troub. 1. p. 81.

[33] Matt.West. 189. Duchesne's Hist. Norm. 973. Ord. Vit. 573. Matt. Par. 231.

[34] So Salisbury declares, 187.

[35] This was ordered by Hen. II. Hove. 614.

[36] Henry I. was made a knight at sixteen. Matt. Par. 11. Another at nineteen. Mailros, 185.

[37] Eadmer, 68. This was was in 1102. Before that time, abbots knighted. Hereward went to the abbot of Peterboro' to be knighted. Ing. 70.

[38] Thus Lanfranc made Rufus a knight. Malmsb. 120.

[39] Therefore Hereward, before he began his attacks on the Normans who had taken his mother's property, procured the dignity. Ing. 70.

[40] Ingulf, 70.

[41] Henry II. in his laws, calls it the sacramentum armorum.

[42] Polycr. 187.

dubbed, the new knight went solemnly to the church, his sword and belt were placed upon the altar, and prayers were offered[43]. His oath declared his duty to be, "To defend the church, to attack the perfidious, to venerate the priesthood; to repel the injuries of the poor; to keep the country quiet; and to shed his blood, and if necessary to lose his life, for his brethren[44]." That the ceremony of the investiture was splendid, we learn from the accounts of its expences[45].

As they had their duties, so they had their privileges. They were freed from all gelds or taxes, and from all other services and burthens, in order says the authority, "that, being so alleviated, they may instruct themselves in the use of horses and arms, and be apt and ready for my service, and the defence of my kingdom[46]." But the great inducements to the rank were, the honour, the donations, they perpetually received, and the plunder they were always acquiring[47]. It is in vain to suppose that, before those happy periods occurred in which the greatest individual was subjected to the power of the law, the men who constituted the armed force of the country could be kept in peaceful demeanour. Hence, though John of Salisbury contends that

[43] Polyer. 187. 193.

[44] Ib. 186.

[45] It was lawful for kings and territorial lords to raise money from their tenants, to make their eldest sons knights. In the records of the Exchequer, we see some of the expences. "For clothes and horses, and other apparatus, to make two knights, £.52. 2. 6." "For three robes of scarlet, three of green, two baldekins, one culcitra, and other things necessary to make a knight, £. 33." "For three robes of silk, three of green, three wrappers, three spurs, three saddles with thongs, three vests, &c. to make a knight, £. 21. 10. 2." 1 Mad. Exch. 372.

[46] Henry I. grants this, Matt. Par. 56. Wilkins, Leg. 234. Salisbury also mentions, that knighthood "rejoices in many immunities and more eminent privileges—and has not to provide horses, carriage, and other sordid burthens." Pol. 187, 188.

[47] The Troubadour Durand expresses some feelings of this sort: "War pleases me. By war I see feasts, gifts, pleasures and songs, multiplied. War converts a vilain to a courtois. War well made, therefore, pleases me. Hence I wish the truce broken between the Sterlings and the Tournois (the English and the French.)" 2 St. Palaye Troub. 229.

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that knights ought to be content with their legal benefits, he admits that they frequently diverged to rapine and violence. The ecclesiastical possessions seem to have been peculiarly the objects of their attack; and the writer is anxious to convince them, that this conduct was a sacrilegious infringement of their oath[48].

Warlike energy was certainly the first point of excellence. Rufus thought it a loss of honour, if, on a sudden alarm, any one should seize his arms earlier than himself, or if any one challenged the enemy before he did, unless he afterwards conquered the challenger[49]. They allowed their enemies safe conduct from one part to another for the purpose of battle[50]. They might however be degraded for misconduct; then their belt was taken away[51].

As the manners of the age softened, they attached themselves to the fair sex. But in the earlier state of chivalry, they had neither leisure nor taste for the refinement of love; their gratifications were then coarse; war was their passion, and their manners partook of the fiercer spirit of the times[52]. Even the ladies

[48] Polycr. 186—188. He afterwards says, that from their conduct it would seem as if, when they offered their belt on the altar, they had denounced war against the altar and the God who is there worshipped. p. 193.

[49] Malmsb. 119.

[50] Malmsb. 184.

[51] Polycr. 189. This author is particularly zealous in satirizing the unworthy knights: "They go round the houses of nobles to explore feasts, that they may banquet splendidly. They throw out blustering and bloated phrases. They cut up Saracens and Persians without any bloodshed." p. 196.

[52] The dispute between Love and Chivalry is argued in a dialogue of the Troubadour Sordel:

S. If you must lose the society of the ladies, or sacrifice the honour acquired by chivalry, which would you prefer?

B. The fame acquired by chivalry; because there are always new conquests to make, new glory to attain.

S. There is no glory without love. It is a bad choice to abandon pleasure and gallantry for blows, hunger, cold and heat.

B. But how dare you appear before your lady, if you dare not take arms to fight? There is no true pleasure without bravery; this exalts us to the greatest honours: but the idle joys of love produce degradation and ruin to those whom they seduce.

S. Pal. Troub. 2. pp. 94, 95.

ladies themselves were fond of war, and sometimes waged it[53]. We read of one who so practised herself in knightly exercises, that she was called Le bel Cavalier[54].

They travelled with their squires, or armour-bearers, and page[55]. Their state parade was to march with their shields uncovered, their spears elevated, and a banner before them[56]. To come to a camp with his shield on his neck, and his lance in his hand, was deemed an attitude of defiance, for which, if he was attacked, he had no redress[57].

Their shields were highly ornamented with gold and brilliant colours[58], and some knights placed on them the portrait of their favourite lady[59].

It was the fashion for newly made knights to travel to other countries, to prove their prowess at tournaments against foreign knights. Thus after our Henry III. had made eighty new knights, the

[53] There is a curious instance of this in Ordericus. Two Norman ladies quarrelled, Eloisa and Isabella. Each roused their friendly knights to assert their cause, and plundered and burnt each other's possessions. They were both spirited, loquacious, and beautiful, and governed their husbands; but they differed in temper. Eloisa was cunning and persuasive, fierce and penurious. Isabella was liberal and courageous, good humoured, merry and convivial. She rode among the knights, armed as they were, and was as dexterous in the use of their weapons. pp. 687, 688.

[54] The Troubadour Rambaud de Vaqueiras mentions, that through the crevice of the door he saw the lady Beatrix one day pull off her long robe, gird on her brother's sword like a knight, draw it from the scabbard, and toss it in the air, catching it again with address, and wheeling about from right to left, till, having finished the exercise, she returned the sword into its sheath. Hence he named her Bel Cavalier. 1 St. Pal. p. 271.

[55] Matthew Paris, mentioning a scarcity, says, "a knight, with his armigero et puero et equis, could hardly be maintained for two shillings," p. 873. Escuyer literally implies shield-bearer. The use of the armour-bearer we may see from the emperor's edict in 1158: "If a foreign knight comes peacefully to the camp sitting on his palfrey *without* shield or arms, then whoever hurts him shall be deemed a violater of the peace." Radev. de Gestis Fred. 492.

[56] Matt. Paris, p. 444.

[57] Radevicus de Gest. Fred. Urtis. 492.

[58] Polycrat. as before. A German poet describes one with a shield fulgens auro, and a helmet vermiculated with amber. 1 Meib. 579.

[59] The count of Poitou did so. Malms. 170.

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the prince Edward went with them to a tournament that had been proclaimed on the Continent, "that each might try his strength, as is the custom with new knights[60]." So in 1253, the earl of Gloucester, and another, sailed to the Continent, principally to be at a marriage, but secondarily to prove their courage and strength, and the swiftness of their horses, in a hasti-ludium then proclaimed. They happened to be unfortunate, for they were thrown, spoiled, and sadly bruised, and required daily fomentations and baths to be restored[61]. The Great appointed tournaments, on purpose that knights might come both to learn and shew their martial powers[62]. This custom occasioned knights to be frequently travelling about, as they used to come from different countries to these amusements; at which ladies were also present[63]. As many perished in these dangerous exercises, the clergy perpetually decried[64], and our kings repeatedly prohibited, them[65]: but nothing could break the custom but the increased general civilization of the age. The fair sex at one time certainly encouraged them, for we

[60] Matt. West. 300. Geoffry, the son of Henry II. did the same. Hoved. 580.

[61] Matt. West. 252.

[62] Matt. Paris, 740.

[63] Thus a knight at Kenilworth made a round table of one hundred knights and as many ladies, to which, for exercise of arms, many came from different regions. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 8.

[64] They were frequently forbidden by councils and popes; as Hoveden, 584. Rymer Fœd. 1. p. 245. 301. The Manuel des Peches, in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. No. 4657. arraigns tournaments for many vices:

Conveitise le quint peche
Turneurs funt pur verité
E coe mustre ben lur roberie
Lur trecherie e lur felonie
Le surfet de glotonie
E le ordur de lecherie
Les suent plus ke autre gent.

He says the same things are applicable to jousts:

Kant ke ai dist de turneurs
Entender ausi de justurs
Kant se asemblent chevalers
Ov enburdiz des esquiers
En ambedeus i ad envie
Orgoil hauge e felonie
Mes trop est clerc a blamer
Ke par *le vil deble* vout juster.

[65] Our public records abound with specific prohibitions, especially those in the reigns of Henry III. and Edw. II. See Calend. Rotular. 11, 12, 13, 14. et passim.

we read of a tournament, in which the prize was a bear, to be given by a lady[66].

Origin of chivalry.

The chivalry of the Gothic nations began in the woods of Germany. No youth was there permitted to assume arms, at that time the great privilege of the noble and the free, at his own pleasure. It was made a social rank, to which it was necessary that the aspiring candidates should be elected in the public councils of their rude commonwealth; and the emulated distinction was then solemnly conferred by the prince or a kinsman giving them a javelin and a shield[67]. In these customs, we see the origin of knighthood. The ceremony of the election[68] and of the investiture was always continued, but in course of time the belt and the sword were substituted for the javelin and the shield. Until this period, he belonged to his family, afterwards to the state; and it was a part of the dignity and power of the prince to be accompanied by a numerons train of these elected youths[69].

As the Christian clergy prevailed in Europe, and became a constituent portion of the national councils of every country, they made religion a part of the ceremonial on these elections. They caused an oath to be imposed on the knight; they made the protection of the church a part of his duty; they extended this to the assistance of the weak and injured; and they gained an influence over his mind, by consecrating his sword and belt on the altar.

The earliest form of making a knight, that appears to us in England or abroad, after Christianity was diffused through Europe, was the girding on his sword in a belt. That this custom existed

[66] M. Paris, 265.

[67] Tacit. de mor. Germ. § 13.

[68] Polycrat. de Nug. Cur. 181—187.

[69] Tacitus calls them Comites, the companions of the prince. Their first Latin designation in the old Charters and Chronicles, is Milites. The Anglo-Saxon term, Cniht, which gave rise to their name in England, (Knights) expresses in part the meaning of the Comites of Tacitus; for that his word implied, like Cniht, a service, we may infer from his remark, "nec rubor inter comites aspici." Ib.

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existed in the days of Alfred, who so knighted Athelstan[70]; and that knighthood, as a military order, invested with command, prevailed in England long before the Norman conquest; the history of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors sufficiently shows[71].

Chivalry thus improved by its religious ceremonial and obligations, became an important agent in civilizing the fierce and predatory warriors of the Gothic nations. It led their rude minds to make even the warfare they loved, a subject of ethical discrimination. The actions of the base knight became marked, and separated from the noble and applauded. One path led to fame, the other to disgrace. Hence our savage ancestors, who at first little differed from banditti, were gradually taught to feel distinction; from honour—an intellectual principle; from courtesy—a social merit; and from moral sensibility, the surest source of human improvement.

This distinction once arising, could not fail to be permanent. It was the interest of the church to preserve and increase it, for their property was always at the mercy of the depredator[72]. The king found his advantage in maintaining it, because it softened the turbulence of the baronial character, and gave the law the protection of its bravery. The barons themselves at last perceived the superior safety and comforts which arose from the extinction of the habits of the lawless knight. And the fair sex at all times found in honourable chivalry, their most effective guardian and avenger. It was perhaps their influence that established its predominance in Europe. In their presence, knights delighted to prove their martial prowess; and from their hands received

[70] 1 Anglo-Saxons, p. 340.

[71] On the Anglo-Saxon Chivalry, see the Hist. Ang.-Sax. vol. 2. p. 139—149. M. St. Palaye therefore errs in the opinion he expresses, that, a regarder la Chevalerie comme une dignités, it would be difficult to place it earlier than the eleventh century. Mem. sur l'anc. Chev. p. 66.

[72] See the complaint of the Saxon Chronicle, and our old annalists, in many places.

received their public honours. The smile of the lady he adored, or professed to extol, became the highest ambition of the sturdy warrior; and her excellence was the topic, not only of his praise, but of his defiance. Her service, her favour, was his proudest boast. Gradually in his festive hours he imitated her dress[73]. Her gentle manners diffused their magic over his own; and social courtesy, the first herald of the compassionate virtues, became the indispensable accomplishment of the preux and polished chevalier[74]. In the days of Rufus, these milder qualities began to take root, and the clergy, who did not anticipate their civilizing tendency, inculpated their effeminacy[75]. By the reign of Edward III. they had established themselves in the knightly character[76]. Rufus was an example of chivalry in its ruder state. The Black Prince exhibited it in its last perfection. But after his time, the improvement of society having diminished its utility, it disappeared with the evils which it had contributed to remove[77].

[73] Eadmer.

[74] Thus Hue de Tabarie tells Saladin—

Sire tout ensement devez,
Issir sans nule vilounie;
Et estre plains de courtoisie.
Baignier devez en honeste,
En courtoisie e en bonté,
Et faire amer a toutes gens.
Ordene de Chev.

[75] Besides our John of Salisbury, Saint Bernard, in some of his Sermons, attacks what he calls the degeneracy of the knights. It is very possible that a censurable luxury accompanied it.

[76] Although there was no code of chivalry at first, yet in this as in most professions, the improved practice led some individuals to describe the customs which had become rules. L'Ordene de Chevalerie, by Hue de Tabarie, edited by Barbazan, is of this sort. It is a series of instructions supposed to have been given to Saladin, when he applied to be made a knight. In this old poem an allegorical meaning is given to most of the ceremonies.

[77] The most complete collection of facts on chivalry has been made by St. Palaye, in his Memoires sur l'ancient Chevalerie. He has chiefly consulted the old Romances and the Continental authorities. I have taken a different path, and endeavoured to state it as it appears in our English historical documents; as in this light it would become entitled to a place in English history. But though my authorities are distinct from his, and supply some original information, yet they concur to establish many of his principles, and shew that the Romances, for the most part, represent true pictures of manners on this ancient class of Gothic dignity.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. VII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY I. SURNAMED BEAUCLERC.

1100—1135.

CHAP. VII.

Henry's coronation; 1100.

HENRY was hunting in a different part of the New Forest, when Rufus fell. Informed, by the outcries of the attendants, of his brother's calamity, the claims of fraternal sympathy might have been expected to have drawn him to the fatal spot to have paid the tribute of affection or decency to his remains. But ambition extinguished sensibility. He left the body to the casual charity of the passing rustic[1], and rode precipitately to Winchester, to seize the royal treasure. According to the compact between Robert and Rufus, the succession had now devolved to Robert, who was abroad on the crusade; and the baron, to whose care the treasury had been committed, came breathless to the castle,

[1] Wace adds to Rufus's death a strange story, that Henry, going that day to the forest, found the string of his cross-bow broken, and taking it to a 'Vilain' to be mended, found an old woman there, who told him, that he would soon be king.

Une novele te dirai;
Henris iert reis hastivement.
Se mes augures ne me ment.
Remembre toi de co qu'ai dit.
Que cist iert reis jusque petit. MS. Bib. Reg.

If this were more than a village tale, it might imply some knowledge of a projected assassination.

castle, to anticipate Henry's purpose. With honourable fidelity, he asserted the right of the absent Robert, to whom both he and Henry had sworn fealty. The discussion grew fierce; a great concourse collected; when Henry, outrageous at the resistance, unsheathing his sword, declared that no foreigner should presume to withhold from him his father's sceptre. Mutual friends interfering, the treasure was surrendered to Henry, who, proceeding hastily to London, was on the following Sunday, the third day after William's death, elected king, and crowned[2]. His coronation oath was the same that had been taken by the Anglo-Saxon kings[3].

He began his reign by removing the unpopular agents of his unfortunate brother. He recalled Anselm, and conciliated the clergy. He gratified the nation, by abolishing the oppressive exactions of the preceding reign. He assured many benefits to the barons, and restored to the people their Anglo-Saxon laws and privileges, as amended by his father[4]; a measure always popular, and auxiliary to the liberties of the nation.

His literary education.

The Conqueror had noticed Henry's expanding intellect very early[5]; had given him the best education which the age could supply, and had urged him to cultivate letters. As he had two elder brothers, there was no certainty of accruing dignity, to divert him from his intellectual cultivation. Imprisoned, after his father's death, by one brother; besieged, and driven out of Normandy, by both;

[2] Ord. Vit. 782, 783.

[3] The ceremonial of his coronation, is preserved in MS. Cott. Claudius A. 3. In most parts, it resembles that of Ethelred, given in Hist. Angl. Sax. v. 2. p. 201.

[4] Flor. Wig. 471. gives the substance, and Richard of Hagulstad, the words, of his declaration, Scriptores 1. p. 310. One of the writs which he sent to the counties of England on this occasion, is in Matt. Paris, p. 55. to the same effect.

[5] The high opinion which his father had of him, appears from the prophecies about his becoming king, which William is said to have uttered. See one in Malm. 155. another in Ord. Vitalis. Henry soon got by heart the maxim, that rex illiteratus, was asinus coronatus. He may have triumphed in this aphorism, as a sarcasm on his brothers.

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both; he passed a necessitous exile in Bretagne and France[6]. His distresses compelled him to be frugal[7]; and the absence of luxurious enjoyments removes a dangerous obstacle to mental cultivation. He became the most learned monarch of his day, and acquired and deserved the surname of Beauclerk, or fine scholar. No wars, no cares of state, could afterwards deprive him of his love of literature[8].

His marriage.

He acceded at the age of 32, and gratified the nation by marrying and crowning Mathilda, daughter of the sister of Edgar Etheling by Malcolm the king of Scotland, who had been waylaid and killed[9]. As she had worn the veil, Anselm at first pronounced that she could not marry. She pleaded her cause with unanswerable reasoning: "I do not deny that I have worn the veil; for when I was a child, my friend Christiana put a black cloth on my head, to preserve me from outrage; and when I used to throw it off, she would torment me both with harsh blows and indecent reproaches. Sighing and trembling, I have worn it in her presence; but as soon as I could withdraw from her sight, I always threw it on the ground, and trampled it under my feet. When my father once saw me in it, he tore it from me in a great rage, and execrated the person who had put it on me[10]." Her interesting statement was not denied; and as she had never taken the oaths, she was declared at last free to marry the king.

Robert

[6] Having purchased the peninsula of Cotantin from Robert, he lived quietly till his brother imprisoned him on suspicion. After he was released, he endeavoured to attach some barons to his cause, and was besieged and expelled, by William and Robert uniting their forces against him. Ord. Vit. 665. 677. 689. 697.

[7] Malm. 184. In this state he was assisted by a clergyman, whom, on his becoming king, he gratefully raised to the highest honours of the state. Ib.

[8] Malm. 155.

[9] On his death, her mother sent her with her sister to Rumsey Abbey, to be educated, where she was taught the "litteratoriam artem." Ord. Vit. 702. So that Henry had a wife who could sympathize with his studies. She had been twice solicited in marriage before.

[10] Eadmer, p. 57. This author, from his close connection with Anselm, has given us her own words.

Robert had acquired so much reputation for his valour in Palestine, that the kingdom of Jerusalem had been offered to him, before it was conferred upon Godfrey; and he offended the feelings of the age by his refusal[11]. But when he heard of William's death, he returned to Europe, impatient to succeed him. His brother's obnoxious minister, who had escaped from the dungeon to which Henry had consigned him, stimulated him to invade England, and contend with Henry for the crown[12].

Invaded by Robert.

But Henry had now established himself in the popular favour. Even in his brother's lifetime, comparisons had been made to his advantage, and the English barons and clergy assembled to support him. Robert effected a landing at Portsmouth; but the formidable army collected by Henry, gave no encouragement to his hopes, and produced a pause, which enabled the counsellors of both to mediate a peace. Robert, whose passions were versatile, who acted by paroxysms, and who was as easily tranquillized as he was easily excited, was satisfied with the honour of having invaded his brother, with the chance of the succession that was promised him, and with an agreement from Henry to pay him two thousand pounds of silver every year. The friends of each were to enjoy their properties in England and Normandy undisturbed. The brothers embraced in sight of both armies; and the arrangement was so cordial, that Robert became Henry's guest for

[11] Malm. 153. Hunt. 379. M.Paris, 62.

[12] Ord. Vit. 787. Ranulf Flambard, who had been made bishop of Durham by Rufus, was sent to the Tower by Henry. He is described as an artful and eloquent man; cruel and passionate, yet liberal and jocose, and therefore loved by many. He was allowed, by the king, two shillings sterling a day, for his subsistence; and this, with the help of his friends, enabled him to keep a splendid table. One day a rope was sent him in a vessel of wine. He gave a large feast, and his keepers drank his Falernian till they began to snore. Fastening his rope to the window, he slid down it, but as he had forgotten his gloves, he rubbed his hands to the bone: he was hurt in his last jump, but was carried by his friends safely off to Normandy.—His mother had the reputation of being a witch, and of conversing with dæmons. Ord. Vit. 786, 787.

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for two months[13]. The romantic facility or disinterestedness of Robert, was fully exhibited two years afterwards, when he made a present, to the queen, of the appointed payment, notwithstanding the embarrassments in which his profusion and heedlessness were involving him[14].

He attacks the system of rapine.

The peculiar epithet acquired by Henry, The Lion of Justice, announces the exertion of his wisdom and vigour in that path of action, which was then most essential to the improvement of his country. This was, the abolition of the fashionable system of rapine, and the subjection of the great proprietors of land to the supreme government of the law. Till this was accomplished, the country was not in the care of one sovereign presiding over all for the benefit of all, but was overrun with myriads of petty despots, incessantly conflicting and plundering each other. The scene of turbulence was endless, for, as one part became exhausted and tranquil, another part became unquiet.

With the true spirit of enlightened policy and patriotism, Henry directed his reign to the termination of these evils. He saw that there could be no beneficial government, no public improvement, no social peace, while the barons retained their barbarous independence, or any class of society was allowed to practise civil rapine and warfare. In England, he was firm and severe, and unremitted in chastising these habits. He armed his legal ministers with his military force, and he struck down these powerful robbers with unsparing justice, although their practices were so popular, that his severity was censured[15]. He was as vigilant and decided in his

[13] Sax. Chron. 209. Ord. Vit. 788. Robert absolved Henry from his homage. Robert also entered into a treaty with his brother, to furnish him with 1,000 knights, if required. See it in 1 Rymer, p. 4.

[14] Flor. Wig. 476. Ord. Vit. 805. supplicanti reginæ indulsit.

[15] The Saxon Chronicle is emphatic on this subject:— ⁊ ahengen ther swa fela thefas swa nefre er ne weron, thet weron on tha little hwile ealles feower ⁊ feowerti manne. ⁊ six men spilde of here ægon ⁊ of here stanes. —" And they hanged there so many thieves as never before were. There were in a little while

his plans, to break the injurious power of the baronial aristocracy. He summoned them to his court, to answer for their turbulence and violences. He did this gradually and cautiously; but he compelled them to appear. Some were condemned in heavy fines, and some were disinherited. He executed the legal adjudications with vigour. He embraced every opportunity which their revolts afforded, of attacking the proudest chieftains with the arm of the law, and with his military means. Their fierce and anti-social habits were so inveterate, that he was compelled to uproot many, before he could terminate their violences. But he never relaxed from his purpose till he had fulfilled it. Hence he abased and expelled, both from England and Normandy, many of the ancient but restless chieftains, notwithstanding all the struggles of themselves and of their friends against his system. The more discerning part of the country applauded and seconded his efforts. Gradually, his skill and energy prevailed against them[16], and in their stead he raised new stems of aristocracy from the lower ranks of life, whom he advanced for their services, and rewarded with royal munificence[17], and of whose peaceful subordination he was more assured. Henry had the gratification, not only of succeeding in his object, but of acquiring from his success a degree of fame in his own day, both at home and abroad, which it is the lot of few to enjoy[18].

While

while in all four and forty men; and six were deprived of their eyes," &c. He adds, "Many honest men said that several were unjustly punished. But God Almighty, who sees and knows all secrets, He sees that men had oppressed the poor folk very unrighteously; first bereaving them of their property, and then slaying them." p. 228. And see Eadmer, 94.

[16] Ord. Vit. 804—808. Vitalis mentions the gratulations of England on his success, especially in destroying one who had been an untameable tyrant.

[17] Ord. Vit. who informs us of these curious facts, gives the names of some of the persons whom Henry exalted to wealth and honours, de ignobili stirpe; de pulvere ut ita dicam. p. 805.

[18] The French minister, Suger, warmly praises him, and states, like Ordericus, his wide

CHAP. VII. THE REIGN OF HENRY I.

While England was daily increasing in its domestic peace, under a government so able, Normandy was the prey of violence and wrong. The turbulent chieftains dared and defeated Robert; and his friends were surprised, that he who had acquired such celebrity for his heroism in the East, should be so inglorious at home. The miseries of the country increased[19]; and at length every eye was turned to Henry as their deliverer. His attention was for some time occupied by the approach of Magnus, king of Norway, to the British Isles, with a formidable armament; but that warrior perishing in Ireland[20], Henry yielded to the prayers of Normandy, and landed there with a great force. In a friendly interview with his brother, he shewed him the mischiefs of his bad government, and the evils which resulted from it to both countries. Robert acquiesced in establishing a better system, and allowed one of his chief barons to do homage to Henry for his county, as he desired[21].

But

wide spread fame, cujus admirabilem et pene per universum orbem declaratam excellentiam. Vita Lud. p. 108. His applying to Henry the prophecy of Merlin, is a great proof of the king's celebrity. Suger also speaks strongly of Henry's delivering his kingdom, during his reign, from that system of depredation noticed in the preceding Chapter.

[19] Ord. Vit. 808. gives a strong picture of these sufferings.

[20] This was Magnus Berfetta, or Naked Feet, the son of Olaf-Kyrre. He acceded 1093. Snorre has devoted a Saga to his history, vol. 3. p. 191—230. With the best warriors of Norway, he sailed to the Orkneys and Hebrides, and then invaded Ireland. Allying with the king of Connaught, he attacked the king of Ulster, and conquered Dublin. The Irish called the Normans to their aid, but Magnus was too powerful for their succour to avail. He colonized some parts, and built oppida and villas there aliarum more gentium. About to return to Norway, he marched up the country to procure supplies for his fleet. He went through marshes and over rivers, where treacherous bridges had been placed, till he came near an immense cloud of dust. It resembled the approach of cavalry. He put on his helmet, braced his red shield, on which was a golden lion, and took his favourite sword, called Leg-biter, and his battle-axe, and threw over his coat of mail his red silk vest, on which appeared a yellow lion, that the king might be conspicuous. The cloud opened, and discovered herds of cattle provided for his use. He turned back with them towards his ships, but found the bridges gone, and the surrounding woods full of ambushed enemies, who never quitted him till he fell with his bravest friends. Snorre, 227—229. Ord. Vit. 812.

[21] This was William count of Evreux. His address to the two brothers was manly: "I served

But the former evils once more burst out, when Henry returned to England. The dutchy was soon filled with rapine and bloodshed; the cultivators of the soil fled, with their wives and families, into France; and the thistle and the nettle overspread the cultivated ground[22]. Again the presence of Henry was solicited, and again he appeared with his army. The dignified clergy hailed his approach. "Normandy," they said, "the prey of profane robbers, wants a fit ruler. Your brother is not our governor; his people have no protection from his power. He dissipates all his wealth in follies, and often fasts himself till noon for want of bread; often he cannot leave his bed for want of clothes; strumpets and buffoons, in his hours of intoxication, strip him of all his garments, and boast with derision of their robbery." They called upon Henry to assist the country which his ancestors had so nobly governed; and, in conjunction with most of the nobles, they implored him to accept the sovereignty of the province[23].

Invited to Normandy.

The king accepted of the offered trust, and exerted himself against the enemies of the public peace. He stated to his brother the invitations he had received, and the unaltered imbecility of his government: "Resign to me the command of the province, and half of your ducal rights; with a pecuniary equivalent from my treasury for these, and with the revenues of the other half, you may enjoy the sports and indulgencies which you love; and I will deliver Normandy from its oppressors[24]." Robert was advised to reject this proposal, and hostilities took place. The more respectable barons sided with Henry, and justified his war against

His warfare with Robert.

"I served your father faithfully all my life: I have endeavoured to be as true to his heirs. But I cannot serve two masters. My feudal duty must be single. I love both the king and the duke; they are both the sons of my former lord: I desire to respect them both; but I must only have one for my legal sovereign." Robert took him by the hand, and led him to Henry. Ord. Vit. 814.

[22] Ord. Vit. 814.

[23] Ib. 815.

[24] Ib. 820.

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against his brother, by the general misery of the country, which Robert's administration had produced, and by the general call for his deposition[25]. A decisive conflict at length ensued at Tenchebray. Robert had a numerical superiority of infantry; but Henry had the advantage in knights[26]. Robert exerted in the conflict one of those fits of valour and exertion of which he was sometimes capable; but he could not prevent a speedy defeat. The king, in his letter to Anselm, states, that he gained the victory without much loss: he adds, that he had taken prisoner his brother, with some barons, 400 knights, and 10,000 foot; that the slain were innumerable; and that the success had given him Normandy[27].

1106.

He imprisons Robert.

Warfare between brothers is such a breach of the feelings which link society together, that there is scarcely any exigency which can justify it. In the present case, Robert had virtually deserted his subjects. His conduct dissolved the implied compact on which all government is founded, and especially the governments of Europe. His subjects were at length driven by their sufferings to look elsewhere for their sovereign; and they invited Henry to assume that character. But he could not accept it, without deposing his brother. Was he right, to sacrifice the feelings of nature to either policy or philanthropy, especially when he was to profit by the sacrifice? or, ought he to have let the moral sympathies have restrained him? When he decided the question in favour of his ambition, it is perhaps his best apology, that the Norman clergy, the venerated teachers of the day, solicited his interference. But the imprisonment of his brother, in Cardiff Castle, for his life, has not this excuse: it exhibited the same jealousy of his power, which had spoilt his father's mind, and embittered his reign.

He

[25] We may see their reasonings, and the feelings of the day, in the speech of Helias the baron of Mans. Ord. Vit. 822.

[26] Ord. Vit. 820.

[27] See the King's letter, in Eadmer, p. 90.

He is stated to have treated Robert in his captivity, which lasted twenty-eight years, with every delicacy of food; with royal robes; with permission to play at chess and dice; and to visit the neighbouring gardens, woods, and pleasant places[28]. These things would have been indulgencies to a criminal; but they were penurious kindnesses to an unfortunate brother, who had always been too weak and too unpopular to be formidable, at least in England. Robert one day attempted to escape: he seized a horse, and rode away: he was pursued, and retaken in a marsh. He was conducted respectfully back, till the king's orders on the event were received. It is stated that they were, to deprive him of sight[29]! Alarmed power is so prone to be cruel, and cruelty so soon becomes insensible to its own disgrace, that the unnatural incident would not of itself be incredible. But William of Malmsbury, who lived at the period of Robert's death, is so expressive in his assertions of Henry's lenity to his brother, in his confinement, and so unequivocal in declaring that Robert suffered no evil but that of solitude[30]; that the later accounts, of Matthew of Westminster and Matthew Paris, of this unnecessary cruelty, must be questioned.

He tries to take his son

Robert had a son, an infant, whom Henry at first committed to Helie, a Norman baron, to be educated. But the king becoming apprehensive of the effects that might result from his future talents,

[28] See Matt. West. part 2. p. 25. Ord. 823. and Io. Saresb. Polyc. p. 198. Henry's own account, to the pope, of his treatment of his brother, was, "I have not imprisoned him as an enemy, but I have placed him in a royal castle, as a noble stranger broken down by many troubles; and I supply him abundantly with every delicacy and enjoyment." Ord. Vit. p. 866.

[29] Matt. West. ib. Matt. Paris, p. 63. The author says, Robert had provoked his brother by ampullora verba et mina, and was roused to his attempt by false promises, and especially of the earl of Chester. The destruction of Robert's sight is also mentioned in Tho. Wike's Chron. p. 24. and in Bever's MS. Chron.

[30] Ad diem mortis in *libera* tentus custodia *laudabili* fratris pietate quod *nihil præter solitudinem* passus sit mali si solitudo dici potest ubi et custodum diligentia et jocorum preterea et obsoniorum non deerat frequentia. l. 4. p. 154.

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talents, suddenly sent a trusty officer to regain him. The messenger arrived, in Helie's absence, at the castle; but friendly hands suspecting his purpose, suddenly and secretly carried off the sleeping child, before the royal officer reached the apartment. The disappointed courtier seized the castle for the king. But Helie, with a generous sacrifice of his own comfort, continued to nourish the young prince, an exile in foreign lands, as his own son. To secure his safety, this benevolent protector moved with him from place to place, every where making friends by the accomplishments of the maturing boy, and from the general indignation at his uncle's persecution. As he grew up, many of the neighbouring chiefs befriended him; and the count of Anjou intended to wed him to his daughter. The threats, the intreaties, the money, and the promises of Henry, prevented this alliance; and the youth was compelled to be a wanderer again, every where endangered by disquieted and rapacious power. A happier fortune at last awaited him: the earl of Flanders having been assassinated in a church, and leaving no heir, the queen of France persuaded her royal husband to invest the prince with the Flemish earldom[31].

He tranquillizes Normandy.

Henry happily united such a wise spirit of conciliation and such a visible spirit of justice with his exerted power, that Normandy subsided rapidly into the peace and order of England. He made the Normans feel the consequences of his government to be beneficial, and they applauded and supported it. The cultivation of his mind did not suppress his ambition, but enlightened and converted it to the public benefit. Attachment and social tranquillity were the rewards of his efforts to promote the comforts and interests of his people, and the national civilization made an important progress under his firm and prudent government, until it was disturbed by resentments at his conduct towards his brother.

While

[31] Ord. Vit. 837, 838. W. Gemmet. 299. He died 1128, of a wound which he received at a siege, where he unnecessarily exposed himself. Alur. Beverl. 151.

While Henry was reaping the fruits of his political sagacity, he was surprised by a visit, at his English court, from Louis, the heir to the king of France. The prince was rapidly followed by a messenger, with letters from his father to Henry. These contained a request, that he would seize the prince, and confine him in a dungeon for life. They were communicated to Louis, who declared, that they were his step-mother's contrivance for his destruction. Louis, returning to France, demanded justice and protection from his father, who denied his knowledge of the plot. The disappointed queen employed agents for his assassination. They were discovered and punished. She then had recourse to witchcraft, and secret poison was administered. Her object was, by his death, to make way for one of her own children to succeed to the throne. A Saracen physician cured him; and her own danger checked the prosecution of her wickedness. But the kindness of Henry created an attachment in the mind of Louis, which long continued[32].

Visited by Louis.

Louis, succeeding his father, found his kingdom in the state from which Henry had emancipated his people. The feuds and rapine of the great, desolated every part: and the first measures of Louis were to imitate Henry, in the destruction of that system of robbery and violence so afflicting to society, and yet then so habitual. He succeeded by the same system of activity, firmness, and perseverance[33]; and the strength of France was multiplied by its increased subjection to government and law.

The

[32] Ord. Vit. 813.—Of this Louis, and his father Philip, their contemporary, Huntingdon, says, that they were such great eaters, that they died from excessive corpulence. De Contempt. p. 699.

[33] Ord. Vit. 836, &c. We see Henry, at various periods of his reign, pursuing the same object. Thus, after a visit to the monastery in Normandy, he went as in a progress round the borders of his state, to fortify its weaker parts, contra hostes et latrunculos. Ord. 840. Suger details the progress of Louis against the powerful plunderers of France, 97—101. 107—109. His facts are valuable; his Latin execrable.

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His danger and disquiet.

The desire of encroachment, which ill-counselled princes so frequently possess, or the mutual jealousies of neighbouring power, sundered the friendship of Louis and Henry, and brought them at various periods into hostilities with each other. Both exhibited the spirit of petty seizures, but each too much respected the other to attempt very formidable invasions. In one war, the indignation of Louis was roused to challenge Henry to a personal combat, which his calmer temper declined. Another succeeded, in which an actor appeared, whose name alarmed the conscience of Henry into all the cowardice of crime. This was William, the son of his brother Robert whom he still kept his captive. The persecuted child had now become a youthful warrior, distinguished by his valour and accomplishments. His presence was an appeal to natural justice, at which Henry trembled. The prince sought his inheritance. His claims became popular in Normandy; and conspiracy began to pervade even the palace of Henry. So great was his alarm at the domestic treason which was spreading, that he frequently changed his bed; a sword and shield were always placed by his side as he slept; military guards watched all night near his chamber; and he never went unarmed. His wariness preserved his life; but all his policy was required to dissipate the storm that threatened to uproot him[34]. So vain is the hope of building happiness on wrong.

Turbulence of the Barons.

If Henry had assumed the government of Normandy only till Robert's son had shown himself fit to possess it, he would have improved the morality of the age, by a splendid example of preferring right to power. But in seizing the province as his own, and persecuting the youth, he divested his own character of all the charms with which known probity surrounds an individual; he roused

[34] Suger Vit. Lud. p. 112. Huntingdon alludes to these terrors, in his letter de contemptu mundi, p. 699.

roused the sympathies and mistrust of his neighbours against himself; and he gave an example of making strength his rule of right, which counteracted the wisdom of his political life. Hence, as the prince grew up, Henry was made to feel the bitter effects of his own injustice. Not only his friend the king of France, but most of the barons of Normandy also, exerted themselves to restore the injured prince to his lost inheritance. Some of the king's best friends favoured their cause. And the consequence was, that all the evil habits of bloodshed and rapine, from which the king had delivered Normandy, again pervaded it. Again the page of the chronicler becomes dark with civil misery; and a harassed life, without the comfort of an approving conscience, became Henry's allotment[35].

His chivalric battle with the French.

By a series of unremitted exertions, Henry at last surmounted his difficulties; and having detached the earl of Anjou from the confederacy, by a marriage between his son and the earl's daughter, the war lingered between himself and the French monarch. It was accidentally distinguished by one battle, which, though of no great moment in itself, procured much celebrity to the English king and his subjects. Louis and Henry found themselves near to each other at Audelay, and each accompanied by his principal knights. Both the kings were dissuaded, by some of their friends, from engaging; but the more chivalric spirits demanded the battle. With 500 knights, in complete armour, Henry took his station. Louis, rejoiced at the opportunity to prove his valour, which he had long desired, came down to the field with 400 of the best knights in France. The son of Robert, hopeful that day to end his father's captivity, eagerly accompanied him. Crispin, a Norman knight, who had joined the French, led the conflict, in a furious attack on Henry's center, with eighty knights. They were all unhorsed and taken, but not till Crispin had

1118.

[35] Ord. Vit. 842. 845. 851.

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had endangered the king's life. Animated with a great personal hatred, he struck the king twice on his helm with such strength and fury, that the blood gushed out. He was himself soon felled to the ground, and taken. The next charge of the French knights was as unsuccessful, and Louis was then advised to fly. The attack of the English became so fierce, that he was forced to make a precipitate escape, alone, into the woods. A rustic met him, whom by lavish promises of reward, he engaged to conduct him on the nearest road to Audelay. The peasant led him safe to his friends, ignorant of his quality, and vexed, on discovering it, to reflect on the splendid booty he had lost. This battle, from the rank and known individual prowess of the combatants, became much spoken of in Europe. It was a trial of the chivalry of both nations, and was fought as such on both sides with so much good temper, that they endeavoured to take, rather than to kill each other. The English knights having the glory of the victory, and having captured 140 of their opponents, the defeat of the French was commented on with much sarcastic criticism[36].

Pope visits him.

The Pope visited Henry at Gisors, and negociated a reconciliation between him and Louis. In this interview, the king sought to justify himself for his seizure of Normandy from his brother, by a strong and just picture of the miseries it was enduring, when it solicited his interference. He stated his repeated urgencies to his brother, to redress them himself, and his offer of assistance for that purpose, which had been disdainfully rejected. He denied any intention to injure Robert's son. He declared, that his object was to have educated him with his own son, in his palace, and to have taught him polity and knightly discipline; and that he had offered him the command of three English counties: But that

[36] Ord. Vit. 854, 855. Henry Hunt. 381. Suger, who slightly mentions the battle, takes some extenuating distinction between the Franci incompositi, and the compositis aciebus of their opponents, p. 123.

that his kindnesses had been rejected, and that the youth had been made the means of stirring up a general enmity against him. The Pope, pleased with accomplishing the pacification between him and France, declined intermeddling further on the delicate subject of Robert and Normandy[37].

Catastrophe of his son.

The king, delighted that he had at last terminated the anxieties which had so long harrassed and exhausted him; and having arranged Normandy again into peace and good order; prepared to return to England, surrounded with felicity. But at the very moment when he seemed to have emerged out of all adversity, his personal happiness was destroyed for ever by an irreparable evil—the sudden loss of an only son—a prince as dear to the nation as to his father, because born an Englishman, and descended by his mother from the revered Anglo-Saxon line of Alfred and Cerdic. His father had educated him with the fondest care, and, intending him for his successor, had already procured all the freemen of England and Normandy to swear fealty to him. His marriage with the earl of Anjou's daughter had brought him her dowry, the province of Maine; and the earl, having gone to Jerusalem, had left her states in the hand of Henry, in trust for his son[38]. With all the foresight and contrivance of worldly prudence, Henry had thus secured for the prince the largest quantity of greatness that lay within his immediate reach. But human providence is not invested with the sovereignty of life. The prince wanted nothing but the name of king, when at the age of 17, he sailed from Barfleur, to return to England with his father. Thomas

1120.

[37] Ord. Vit. 866.

[38] Sax. Chron. 218. Flor. Wig. 489. Malmsb. 165. Ord. Vit. 871. The Saxon Chronicle mentions a curious natural phenomenon, in the year 1114. The Thames ebbed so much, that persons could not only ride but walk through it, at London Bridge. p. 217. Florence says, that the water scarcely reached the knees: that the Medway, on the same day, was similarly affected: and that the phenomenon was also observed at Yarmouth and elsewhere. p. 488.

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Thomas Fitz-Stephens, whose ancestor had carried over William to his invasion of England, petitioned for the honour of conveying the king. Henry had chosen his ship, and would not change it; but, pleased with the little compliment of the request, he allowed the man to take his darling son, with the rest of his family, and a crowd of young nobility, their attendants and companions. At twilight the king sailed, and reached England the next day: at the same time the vessel with the prince left the shore, with fifty rowers. Unfortunately, the sailors solicited him for wine, and in the gaiety of youth he distributed it profusely. The seamen, the captain, his friends, all, became intoxicated; and in this state, a giddy desire arose, to pass by every ship that was before them. The emulating whim was instantaneously adopted: every arm was exerted, every eye was intent, on this single object; and the ship was flying with all the velocity that unusually-exerted strength could give her, in a fine calm moonlight, when, by the heedlessness of the inebriated helmsman, it struck suddenly on a rock near the shore, then covered with waves, but known, and visible at low water. The shock burst through two planks on the left side of the vessel, and the sea entered fast. The prince got into a little boat, and was escaping, when he heard the voice of his sister, shrieking to him, to help her. He put back to the ship, to take her in; but at the same time so many leaped into it, that it sank, and every one in it. The ship soon disappeared under the waves, with all its crew, three hundred in number, excepting two persons, a young nobleman and a butcher, who held clinging to the top of the mast. The captain rose from his first descent, and might have saved himself, but, finding that the prince was drowned, and having nothing but death or a dungeon to expect from the king, he plunged into the waves, and was lost. The severe cold of the night, for it was in December, occasioned the nobleman

nobleman to lose his hold; and he fell, uttering a prayer for his companion's safety. The butcher, the poorest and the hardiest of the whole crew, kept himself above the water in his garment of sheepskin, till morning, when some fishermen saw him, and carried him ashore, quite exhausted. Recovering, he related the catastrophe. It soon reached the palace; but no one dared to mention it to the anxious king, who continued all the following day to expect his son, and wondering at his absence. Even they who had lost their own beloved friends, restrained themselves in his presence. When the truth could no longer be withheld, a little boy was sent in to communicate it. The king fell speechless to the ground. His friends raised him; he revived, and burst into bitter lamentations. His courtiers were as deeply affected, for the flower of the young nobility, one hundred and forty in number, had perished with his children. The general lamentation lasted several days, and their only consolation was to converse on the virtues of their lost relations. The king never smiled again. The aged Robert now found his brother more wretched than himself: though he was still a captive, his son was alive, and high in honour and prosperity acquired by his own merit[39].

His second marriage.

This awful calamity was such a personal admonition of the futility of that ambition to which Henry was sacrificing some of the best feelings of human nature, that we read with surprise that it did not dispose him to abridge the captivity of his brother, or to compensate for the irrevocable past, by adopting his son. Instead of this noble act of justice, he continued Robert in his confinement, and sought again male issue by a second marriage with

[39] Ord. Vit. 867—870. Malmsb. 165. Among the letters of Hildebert, the bishop of Mans, is the epistle of condolence which he wrote to the king on this melancholy occasion. It is composed with some elegance. Its object is to lead the king's mind to a contempt of worldly gratifications, by depicting their insufficient and transitory nature. See it in Bib. Magna Patrum, vol. 3. p. 221.

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with Adeliza, the daughter of the count of Louvain. His ungenerous and selfish views were disappointed; the nuptials were unfruitful, and the rest of his life was embittered by fresh vexations[40].

Matilda named his successor.

His only legitimate issue was Matilda, a daughter by his first wife, whom he had married to the emperor of Germany, whose sudden death was connected with mysterious circumstances in the popular rumours of the day[41]. Matilda quitted Germany for England, bringing with her the imperial crown, and, what was to her no less precious, the hand of St. James[42]. Henry received her with an affection augmented by his disappointment of a son: he procured her to be appointed his successor, and married her again to the earl of Anjou, that this province, which he had always coveted, might be acquired by his family. But this marriage of policy served only to diminish his felicity: Matilda and her husband soon differed; the proud empress probably disdained the humble count: and the king's life was again harassed and shortened by their domestic dissensions[43].

In

[40] Ord. Vit. mentions the desire and occasional conspiracies of many nobles, that Robert's son should be Henry's successor. 875—887.

[41] It was said that, unable to rest from his disturbed conscience, at the imputation that he had caused his father's death, he suddenly one night quitted the bed of the English princess, and walked away in the dark, as a voluntary penance, with naked feet, and in a woollen garment, and was never seen again. Hoveden, 478.

[42] Hoved. 478.

[43] Hunt. 385. We have an amusing account, in Florence, of an eclipse of the sun in 1132. The author notes down a description of the phenomenon, without being certain of its cause: "In some places the day became so dark that candles were indispensable. Surprised, the king and his court, just going to embark, looked up at the sky, and saw the sun shining like a new moon, but not keeping one appearance. Sometimes it was broader—sometimes narrower—now bent—now more erect—at times firm as usual, at other times moving and tremulous as if liquid, like quicksilver. At the same time many stars appeared. Some said that it was an eclipse of the sun." p. 510.—Malmsb. of the same event, says, "I saw the stars about the sun, and felt the wall of the house in which I was sitting, twice raised up and subsiding, as if a slight earthquake had accompanied the eclipse." p. 177.

In the twenty-eighth year of his captivity, Robert died in Cardiff Castle, at the age of 70[44]. In the next year he was followed by his inexorable brother. At his favourite retreat in Normandy, after indulging in a repast of lampreys, to which he was greatly attached, though they always injured him, Henry was attacked with an acute fever, and in a few days expired[45]. He declared to his natural son, Robert count of Gloucester, who was with him, that he left all his possessions to his daughter Matilda[46]. The next reign will shew, that in this, his last fond hope, he was betrayed and defeated.

His death; 1135.

His character.

That Henry was a great statesman, and an intelligent, able, and useful sovereign, the history of his life attests. But the politician is often as cold and as abstract as the scholastic metaphysician. Morality, feeling, generosity, benevolence, are no necessary constituents of his character. The statesman is too apt to contemplate life as a game at chess, and to make his movements as if mankind were but pieces of mechanism, and the world but an arena subordinate to his contriving skill, a theatre to exhibit the triumphs of his sagacity. Henry's character was marked by the discernment, the profound thought, the impenetrability, the persevering prudence, the stern inflexibility, the capacious love of power, of the aspiring politician; but it had no sensibility, no magnanimity, nothing generous or beneficent. Henry of Huntingdon, who knew him, calls him a man of profound dissimulation, and inscrutable mind; and adds the expressive trait, that his Great Justiciary, being once told that the king had praised him, said with a sigh, "He praises no one whom he does not mean to destroy[47]." His conduct to Luke

[44] Flor. Wig. 510.

[45] Hunt. 385. Alured. Beverl. 152. Flor. Wig. His last words were, "Be my debts paid, and every obligation that I owe. Let the rest be distributed among the poor." Malmsb. 178.

[46] Malmsb. 178.

[47] This deteriorating circumstance is thus told by Huntingdon: "This Justiciary of all England, dreaded once by every body, was in the last part of his life twice prosecuted,

Luke de Barre, proved that he had inherited somewhat of his father's ferocity in the severity of his revenge[48].

His private life was immoral. He had several natural children; and his self-indulgencies may have vitiated the son he lost, to whom Huntingdon imputes great corruption of manners[49]. Yet with these faults, he was a great prince, and his reign was highly beneficial to his people.

His resolute attack on the popular system of rapine, then disgracing Europe, was a blessing to society, which no praise can exaggerate[50]. Until that was made to cease, human improvement was hopeless. Happy would it have been to himself, if he had governed his own ambition with the same spirit of probity and firmness with which he corrected others!

In

secuted, on the king's suggestion, by an ignoble magistrate; and twice severely fined and disgraced. This so wounded his mind, that one day as I, his archdeacon, was lying near him at dinner, I saw him shedding tears. I inquired the reason. He said, Formerly those about me were clothed in precious garments; now the fines of the king, whose favour I always studied to acquire, compel me to dress them in woollen."—When the high praises, which the king in his absence repeated of him, were related to him, he sighed, and uttered the poignant remark mentioned in the text. Hunt. de Mundi Cont. p. 695.

[48] "Luke de Barre," said the king, "has never done me homage, but he has fought against me. He has composed facetiously indecent songs upon me; he has sung them openly to my prejudice, and often raised the horsclaughs of my malignant enemies against me."—Henry then ordered his eyes to be pulled out. The wretched minstrel rushed from his tormentors, and dashed his brains against the wall. Ord. Vit. 880, 881.

[49] Hunt. 381.

[50] Hence his surname, "The Lion of Justice."—Ioan Sarib. Polyc. The epithet was taken from the pretended prophecies of Merlin, which were then in great fashion and circulation: "After two dragons," said Merlin, "The Lion of Justice shall come, at whose roaring the Gallic towers and Island serpents shall tremble. In his days gold shall be extorted from the lily and the nettle; and silver shall flow from the hoofs of those that bellow." He continues his metaphors with unsparing profusion. Ord. 887. These vaticinia are in Jeffry of Monmouth's History, and probably of his composition. The Welsh prophecies ascribed to Merlin are in a much ruder and shorter style, but on different incidents. They are probably those which suggested to Jeffry his more elaborate composition. See them in the Welsh Archaiology, vol. i. "Gwasgared Vyrdin yn y ved," or the Oracle of Merlin from his Grave, p. 132. The Kyvoesi myrdin, or his Dialogue with his Sister, p. 138. is full of history, sometimes anticipated: so is his Hoienau. All these are therefore either interpolated or surreptitious.

In many of his personal qualities, he was interesting and amiable. His mind was cultivated; he cherished learning, and encouraged it to vegetate in England. He loved pleasantries; and when he mixed in society, he did not suffer business to disturb his good humour. In his food, he was usually temperate, and displeased with excess in others; and yet he fell a victim to his appetite[51].

His person was of the middle size; his black hair curled luxuriantly over his forehead; his eye was mild and serene; his chest manly; his body plump[52].

Strong and clear judgment was the character of his mind, and his conduct was therefore consistent and impressive. In discerning that peace had its laurels, more fruitful and not less glorious than those of war, he rose far above the level of his age, and deserves the praises of his improved posterity[53]. His behaviour to the Pope was dignified and popular, when he refused to recognize his new character of ambassadors in his legates; and when he ordered the archbishop, who came with that title, to leave his dominions[54]. He was thwarted by Anselm, who held the see of Canterbury, and who chose to fight obstinately the battle of the papal authority and ecclesiastical independence[55]. Henry maintained

[51] Malmsb. 162. Robert of Gloucester says,

And when he com hom he wyllede of an lamprey to ete,
Ac hys leches hym verbede, vor yt was feble mete.
Ac he wolde yt nogt byleve, vor he lovede yt wel ynou,
And ete as in leether cas, vor thulke lampreye hym slou.
Vor anon rygt thereafter in to anguysse he drou,
And dyede vor thys lampreye thoru hys owe wou. p. 442.

[52] Malmsb. 102. Robert of Gloucester says he was—Of fayrost fourme and maners, and most gentyl and free. p. 420.

[53] Hence he loved the saying of Scipio Africanus—"My mother brought me forth to be a sovereign, not a fighter." Malm. 162.

[54] Eadmer, p. 58.

[55] Eadmer has preserved a full detail of this dispute. Lord Lyttleton, in his valuable History of Henry II. vol. 1. pp. 149—154, Rapin, and Hume, have copiously narrated it; the latter, as usual, interestingly.

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tained the right and dignity and just predominance of his crown, as long as the prejudices of the times would permit him; and he did not submit to compromise the controversy, till it became unsafe, and therefore unwise, to continue it[56].

[56] The Saxon chronicler's character of him, as a contemporary, ought not to be omitted: "Good man he was, and much awe there was of him. No man durst misdo against another in his time. Peace he made to men, and deer. Whoso bore his burthen of gold and silver, no man durst say to him nought but good." p. 237.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. VIII.

THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

1135—1154.

CHAP. VIII.

THAT political evils are perpetually resulting from political errors, every reader of history is convinced. It is less generally admitted, but it is equally true, that a large proportion of both originates from the moral misconduct of the sovereign and his people. No reign more strongly illustrates this fact, than that of Stephen. It was a reign of almost continual disquiet to the king, who unjustly obtained the crown; and of peculiar misery to the people, who, against their own affianced duty, sanctioned and supported his usurpation.

Son of Adela the sister of the late king, and of the earl of Blois, Stephen had been one of Henry's favourites. The royal partiality had given him large possessions, and encouraged his marriage with the heiress of Boulogne. He had approved of his sovereign's darling plan, that his daughter Matilda should be his successor; he had been one of the foremost to swear allegiance to her; and Henry, to omit no measure that was then believed to bind the

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consciences of men in support of his daughter, had thrice obtained for her the appointment, the homage, and the oaths, of his parliament, clergy, and people[1]. He committed her to the care of the earl of Gloucester, but he had relied upon Stephen to be among the chief protectors of her right.

The clergy procure his coronation.

On the king's death, Stephen broke through all his moral obligations; and, sailing immediately to England, by the management of his brother, the bishop of Winchester, of the archbishop of Canterbury, and of others of the clergy, and by his own popularity, he was chosen king. As all orders of the community had three times sworn allegiance to Matilda, all violated their oaths by this appointment. Some of the chiefs increased their guilt by new perjuries. The royal seneschal asserted, that the king in his last moments had disinherited his daughter, and nominated Stephen—an incredible falsehood[2]. The bishop of Salisbury pretended that he was absolved from his oath, because the king had broken his promise, of not marrying his daughter, without his consent and the approbation of the other nobles[3]. Such reasoning aggravated the perjury which it attempted to extenuate. The archbishop of Canterbury at first remembered his oath to Matilda, which he had been the first of the clergy to take; but, being reminded that it was an oath imposed by power, and that it was not fit that so many thousands of men should obey a woman, his easy or mercenary conscience was tranquillized[4]. And the bishop of Winchester increased the clerical degradation, by approving, as the papal legate, the coronation of Stephen. Unless he had thus sanctioned

[1] The first oath of allegiance to her was taken in 1127. Malmsb. 175. Sax. Chr. 230. —The second in 1131, Malmsb. 177.—And the third, on the the birth of her son Henry, in 1133. Rad. Dic. p. 505. Matt. Paris, 72.

[2] Rad. Dic. 505. Matt. Par. 74.

[3] Malmsbury says he often heard him declare this, but that he never believed him. p. 175.

[4] Gesta Stephani, p. 929. The author states, that this prelate was a greedy hunter after money: that he did not survive a year; and left an infinite quantity of money, very secretly hidden in his repositories. Ib.

sanctioned it, Malmsbury avows that Stephen would have been disappointed[5]. It may be mentioned to the honour of the monastic writers, that they do not hesitate to censure the whole as a guilty transaction, and remark the miseries that followed, both to the chief authors and to the concurring nation. The Pope completed the disgusting scene of political perfidy, by sending to Stephen his letters of confirmation, in which he was not ashamed to affirm, that he knew that the wishes of the favouring prelates had been suggested by divine grace. He reveals the actual principle of his acquiescence, when he tells the king, that for the obedience and reverence which he had promised to St. Peter, he received him with paternal affection, as a special son of the Roman church: yet in the same document he does not hesitate to speak highly of Henry's virtues, whose most favourite purpose he was thus exerting himself to frustate[6].

His popularity.

Stephen held his courts, at the solemn festivals, with unexampled magnificence. He repressed the invasion of the king of Scotland[7]; subdued his enemies in Normandy; and pacified even Geoffry, the husband of Matilda, by a yearly pension of 5,000 marks. The king of France admitted his son to do homage for his French dominions[8]; and, so popular had Stephen been at all times, for his conviviality, accessibility and condescending affability even to the meanest, that the friend of his rival says that the general affection for him can scarcely be conceived[9]. Robert count of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry, and the great supporter of

[5] Malmsb. p. 178.

[6] R. Hagulstad de Gestis Steph. 313, 314.

[7] An unknown writer of the age, thus describes the people of Scotland: "Unclean and barbarous; neither hurt by excessive cold, nor by severe hunger; trusting to their swift feet and light armour; esteeming death as nothing among their own family; but exceeding every one in cruelty towards foreigners." Gest. Steph. p. 939.—Their acts of cruelty, as detailed by R. Hagulstad, p. 316. resemble those of the ancient Northmen.

[8] Matt. Paris, 75.

[9] Malmsb. 179.

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of Matilda's rights, perceived hostility to be so vain, that he submitted to swear fealty, with the limitation, that it was to last only so long as his own possessions were not invaded[10]. The king of Scotland acted more nobly; he would not do Stephen homage for his English demesnes, because he had pledged it to Henry and his daughter: and to effectuate peace between the two countries, Stephen was content to take the fealty from his son[11]. But such was the unaminity in the king's favour, during the first three years of his reign, that no sovereign would have seemed more secure: yet no sovereign had afterwards to endure severer calamities, although, as a warrior, he was brave, indefatigable, and even fond of encountering difficulties; and as a man, he was generous, gentle, and merciful[12].

The causes of this strange reverse appear to have arisen partly from the inevitable consequences of his usurpation, and partly from the defects of his mental character.

Hostilities against him.

"They *chose* me king," he exclaimed, when he saw with astonishment the hostilities that were gathering around him, "why are they deserting me[13]?" He might have answered himself, that the deceptions, the corruptions, and the violence, by which he obtained his election, having accomplished that temporary purpose, must, according to the established laws of our nature, proceed to work those mischievous effects on the morals of his subjects, to which such vices always tend. His example of successful injustice was too splendid, not to tempt imitation. The treasures which he lavished, corrupted moral principle and inflamed cupidity; the venality of the great clergy produced a contempt of their order; and the promises by which he influenced many, excited resentment and malignity, when they were

[10] Malmsb. 180.
[11] Matt. Paris, 75.
[12] Malmsb. 178. The Prior of Hagulstad, his contemporary, notices his perpetual good humour, and unbounded clemency, p. 312.
[13] Malmsb. 180.

were found to be fallacious. All these consequences soon began to operate violently against him. But his courage was equal to his difficulties; and he swore that he would never be called a dethroned king[14].

Henry had subdued, but not extinguished, that passion for depredation and conflict, which then pervaded European society. His knights and barons submitted to the regulations of his inflexible determination to maintain the sovereignty of law; but the moral feeling of society was yet too imperfect to make the change of habit pleasing to those who possessed the power of violence. It was soon felt that Stephen, who had obtained a crown by violating the laws of right, had no pretensions to enforce them on others; and after his accession, the great and restless began to resume the ancient practice of plundering their weaker neighbours, and of warring among themselves[15]. The imperfections of Stephen's character increased their boldness. The mildness of his temper, and perhaps the recollection of his own conduct, induced him at first to be forbearing and indulgent; but when it was understood, says the Saxon chronicler, that he "was mild and soft, and good, and did not enforce justice, then did they all wonder;" and their rapacity and feuds became more unsparing from impunity. Then every one built what castles he pleased, to maintain or extend his robberies,

[14] "Nunquam rex dejectus appellator." Malmsb. 180.

[15] The knight of Batthenton began. He is described by Ordericus as a man of some birth and estate, and devoted to the table. Collecting knights and archers into his castle, "he harrassed outrageously all his neighbours with fire and depredation."—Stephen was at last compelled to besiege his castle, Ord. Vit. 934.—His example was soon followed by a baron at Exeter. He strove to force the citizens and their neighbours to yield themselves to him: he seized all the supplies he wanted, threatening fire and the sword to those who resisted, p. 934.—The description of the siege of Exeter, shews a considerable knowledge of the arts of attacking and defending a town. It cost the king three months time, and 15,000 marks, to take it, p. 935. Baldwin then went to the Isle of Wight, to commence piracy from his castle there, 937.—The Gesta Stephani abounds with instances of these violences.

robberies, and filled his fortifications with "devils and evil men." They sallied out by day and night, to collect the plunder which their power could compel, and dragged to their dungeons persons of both sexes, from whom there was any hope of extorting ransom. The tortures, described by the contemporary chronicler, that were used to exact it, would seem the language of romance, but that his descriptions display genuine feeling and particular knowledge, amid great simplicity of style[16].

The violations of his promises offended and alienated his friends. Even the seneschal, who had lied for him, became dissatisfied; seized the castle of Norwich, and, affecting to believe a rumour of the king's death, refused to surrender it. This rumour spread through England, and excited great commotion[17]. Baron after baron maintained their castles against him; and he was compelled to undertake a succession of sieges, in addition to his marches to repress the king of Scotland.

Stephen now became alarmed, and increased the evil by violent and unprincipled conduct. He seized two bishops, and his own chancellor, and threw them into prison with great indignity and personal suffering, until they had given up the castles in their power[18]. The arrests of these prelates not only revolted the feelings

[16] Sax. Chron. 238, 239. This venerable document, now approaching to its close, says, "They hanged up men by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs; others by the head; and burning things were hung on their feet. They put knotted strings about their head, and writhed them till they went into the brain. They put persons into prisons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Some they put into a crucet-house; that is, a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep, and had sharp stones within, and forced men therein so that they broke all their limbs. In many of the castles were hateful and grim things, called Sachen-teges, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. It was thus made: it was fastened to a beam, and had a sharp iron to go about a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but he bore all the iron." Ib.

[17] Matt. Paris, 75.

[18] M. Paris, 77. Chron. Sax. 238. Malmsbury details the circumstances, 181. One of the chancellor's castles was Devizes; than which, says M. Paris, there was not a more splendid one in all Europe.

feelings of the great body to which they belonged, but destroyed general confidence, by the new proof, that he made power, and not law, his guide. In attempting surreptitiously to seize the count of Gloucester, he released that respected nobleman from his conditional fealty, and gave a new cause of disaffection to his nobility. The count, warned of the meditated snare, abstained from the court. The king, disappointed, sought to cajole him by an assumed grace of manner, and an expressed contrition for his intention: he even stooped to employ the archbishop of Roüen to be the bearer of a sacred assurance of his honour, while he was secretly planning the count's arrest. The count, with steady prudence, penetrated and eluded the deceit[19]; and the king's new perfidy, alienating for ever this high-minded nobleman, soon produced its own punishment.

Stephen's difficulties.

In the fourth year of his reign, his popularity appears to have ceased; and a destructive invasion of the Scottish king[20] was the signal for general revolt. In every part the barons rose in insurrection, and defended their castles; and Stephen, resolute to maintain his sovereignty, exerted himself with that warlike activity in which he was best qualified to excel. But he still had recourse to measures which filled the country with calamity. He had found in Henry's treasury an hundred thousand pounds in money, besides gold and silver vessels, and jewels of all sorts. Possessed of this supply, he invited knights and adventurers from all the regions about, and especially from Flanders and Bretagne. They came in great numbers, but with no other object than to benefit themselves

[19] Malm. 180. So heartless were Stephen's courtesies, that, after speaking to Gloucester in a playful and complimentary manner, he would satirize him, when he retired, with malignant phrases, and pilfer his possessions whenever he could. Ib.

[20] The anonymous author of the Gesta Stephani, ascribes his hostilities to a desire to punish Stephen, for the breach of his oath of fealty to Matilda. p. 939. The incursions of the Scots at last led to the battle of the standard described by Ric. Hagulstad, 318—326. in which they experienced a ruinous defeat.

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themselves from his profusion and their own rapacity. They soon exhausted the royal bounty; and while they fought under his banners, they plundered indiscriminately his people[21].

Matilda lands in England.

The friends of Matilda now thought the time was come for the recovery of her lost inheritance. In 1139, she sailed to England, and landed at Arundel, with a few attendants. Her brother, the earl of Gloucester, had only 150 knights; and with this small force began that warfare which nearly hurled Stephen from his throne[22]. But their reliance was upon the disaffection of the country, and the result corresponded with their calculations.

Stephen, with the customary courtesy of the true knighthood of the day, gave his rival a safe conduct to her brother's castle at Bristol, although she came to wrestle for his crown[23]. Supporters of her claims started up every where, and a dismal year of intestine warfare ensued. The abilities of the earl of Gloucester, and the zeal of her friends, maintained the contest against all the power and activity of Stephen; and the country groaned under the evils which both parties inflicted[24].

These

[21] A writer of the time gives us a strong picture of the calamity produced by these knights: "The fierce multitude of barbarians who, gratia militandi, came in crowds to England, had no compassion on the public suffering. Every where from their castles, they confederated for every mischief. To plunder the weak, to provoke quarrels every where, and to rove about for destruction, were their employments. The barons who had called them to their aid, were often unable from their own estates to pay them the expected stipends; and the prey they were allowed to collect did not always satisfy their insatiable rapacity. They harassed the possessions of the church with the most unrelenting devastations, and the persons of the ecclesiastics with contumely and violence." Gesta Stephani, 962.

[22] Matilda's name was, by the English popular pronunciation, abbreviated to Mald and Mold, and by the Norman euphony, to Maud. We have the former in Robert of Gloucester: "Mold the goodqueene," p. 435. And in Brunne's Langtoft, "Mald wist full wele," p. 121.

[23] Malmsbury has transmitted to us this pleasing trait, and has made it more interesting by adding, that it was the custom "of reputable knights, not to deny it to their most hated enemy." p. 184.

[24] Malmsbury's description, and he witnessed what he describes, corresponds with that already cited from the Saxon Chronicler. "Castles abounded in every part of England; each defending or rather depopulating its neighbourhood. The knights of the castle seized

These scenes of public ruin, the attendants and the punishment of that civil fury which takes from man's evil passions the curb that governments are chiefly wanted to impose, continued with no other result than a succession of human misery[25], till 1141, when the king suddenly besieged Lincoln, hoping by the surprise to capture two of the chief nobles who opposed him. The earl of Gloucester, on his part, projected to surprise the king. It was manœuvre against manœuvre. The earl hastened with his military force to the Trent: he found it unfordable, from the late rains. He explained to his followers the exigency of their affairs, and the opportunity they now had of ending their calamities by one blow[26]. They boldly rushed into the river, and passed it swimming. The king, ever ready for knightly deeds, received their onset with undaunted courage. At first he attempted to convert the battle into the single combats of the joust, in which his friends were expert; but the assailants threw away their lances, and, unsheathing their swords, rushed on to a close and more deadly combat. Their attack was irresistible. They dispersed their antagonists, and surrounded the king and a few barons who would not leave him, but whose intrepidity was unavailing. The king fought with all the fierceness of his native courage. Every knight pressed forward to

Capture of the king.

seized the sheep and cattle in the fields, sparing neither churches nor cemetaries. They stripped the cottages even of their straw, and imprisoned the miserable inhabitants. They exhausted the property of their captives, by their ransoms; and many perished in the torments that were applied to compel them to redeem themselves. p. 185.

[25] We have another contemporary picture of the public suffering at this period, in the Gesta Stephani. "England now began to be depopulated. Some emigrated to other countries: Some, raising hovels near religious places for safety, passed there an alarmed and miserable life: Some, in the dreadful famine that every where prevailed, after living on the flesh of dogs or horses, or on raw herbs and roots, perished by heaps in pestilential disorders. You might see towns of famous name, void of all their inhabitants. England presented every where a face of calamity and oppression." p. 961.

[26] Henry Huntingdon gives the speeches of the leaders at length, but he puts Stephen's into the mouth of one of his nobles, because the king wanted a festiva voce. p. 391. So that the festive voice was synonimous with a Stentorian one.

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to take him. He felled them with his battle-axe, till it broke with the vehemence of his blows. Undismayed by this accident, he rushed on them with his sword, until that also shivered upon their bodies. He still disdained to yield, till a projectile stone struck him to the ground. A knight then sprang upon him, and seizing him by the helmet, exclaimed, "Hither! Hither! I have got the king[27]." As the earl had ordered him to be taken alive, no further violence was attempted. He was led away to Gloucester, and afterwards to Bristol, where, from their anxiety to secure him, they are stated to have fettered him[28].

Matilda crowned;

Matilda was now received by all as the rightful queen. She was crowned at Winchester; and the papal policy turning with the vane of fortune, the legate blessed her. She went through the country with much popular applause, and was at last received into London and Westminster[29].

The queen of Stephen made earnest supplication for the liberty of her husband. The nobles even offered to become hostages, that he should resign the crown. But Matilda was inexorable and contumelious[30]. It is difficult now to appreciate her policy. It seems to have been sacrificed to her resentment or her fears. She is accused of an arrogance and an austerity which displeased her new subjects. Too angry to feel the wisdom of forgetting the offence, when the offender had submitted; too proud to value the submission which followed unsuccessful resistance; too presumptuous to anticipate the possibility of reverses from the resentment of the insulted; she drove the friends of Stephen with contempt from her presence,

[27] Malmsbury, 187. and Huntingdon, 352. who both lived at the time, furnish the circumstances of the battle; to which the Gesta Stephani adds some others, p. 952.

[28] The cause alleged for this ignominy was, that he was found at night beyond his allotted boundaries. Malmsb. 187.

[29] Flor. Wig. 540, 541.

[30] Gesta Steph. 954. Florence adds, that they proposed that he should go abroad, or become a monk, p. 542.

presence, when they came to do her homage[31]. The affability and condescension of the king were recollected to her disadvantage; and she learnt with the astonishment of proud vanity, that the citizens of London were preparing to seize her. Suddenly she heard the alarm-bells every where ringing, as the summons to arms; the stormy tumult of a multitude rising to insurrection, clamoured all around: every moment the infuriated mob increased in numbers and evil feeling. Her friends, dismayed at the perilous crisis, hastily dispersed, forgetful of her, and eager only to escape. The deserted and mortified Matilda, equally enraged and alarmed, was compelled to sacrifice her dignity to her safety, and fled with precipitation to Oxford, and thence to Gloucester. In assisting to produce and spread this revolution, the queen of Stephen displayed the heroic virtues to which her sex can rise, on the noblest of all the female impulses. Connubial affection her inspirer, she endured every danger and fatigue, to procure her husband's liberation, and to humble the fair but haughty tyrant, who kept him imprisoned, and had insulted her. Many joined her from sympathy, others from disgust or policy; and the fortune of Stephen again predominated.

compelled to fly.

Amid the struggles which followed, the brother and champion of Matilda, the noble Gloucester, was in his turn taken prisoner. This important capture put the fortunes of the contending parties on a level. It is clear that neither greatly preponderated. The king and earl were exchanged for each other; and the conflict lasted, with increasing misery to the nation, till the death of the latter[32]. Matilda was at one time besieged in Oxford by Stephen, and with difficulty escaped[33]. On the death of her brother, she quitted England,

Gloucester taken.

[31] Gesta Steph. 954.

[32] Flor. Wig. 542. Gesta Steph. 954, 955. Malmsbury, in his intimation, 189. that the reverse which followed would not have happened if the earl's moderation and wisdom had been listened to, implies, that Matilda was so deficient in these essential qualities, that she could not even value them in others.

[33] Her provisions were exhausted; the castle surrounded by the king's army, his machines

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England, and Stephen preserved his crown. But he was not able to persuade the nation to appoint his son Eustace his successor.

During this contention, Henry the son of Matilda was advancing to maturity. His mother retired with him to his father's territory of Anjou, and every effort was made to establish him in Normandy. Stephen could not counteract his influence in this restless province, and Henry became its duke. The divorce of Louis the French king, from his wife Eleanor[34], gave Henry an opportunity of making a splendid addition to his power, by marrying the lady whose dowry and inheritance embraced some of the most important provinces in the south of France. In the following year, he attempted an invasion of England. He was joined by numerous partisans. The calamities of civil war were again renewing; but at length an accommodation was effected between Henry and Stephen, by which it was agreed, that Stephen should enjoy the crown peaceably while he lived, and that Henry should be his successor. The death of the king's eldest son facilitated the arrangement, and his own demise suddenly following, Henry succeeded quietly to the long disputed throne, in October 1154[35].

Henry, Matilda's son, invades.

The

machines were destroying the defences; the lands near the city were laid under water; and its capture was inevitable. Matilda made a desperate attempt to escape. The ground was covered with snow, and the waters frozen over. While the royal army was sounding their trumpets for an assault, she silently went out of a postern gate, with only three chosen knights, clothed in white: amid the general bustle, their footsteps were unheard; their garments occasioned them to be undistinguished over the snow-clad ground. She crossed safely the ice of the inundations, and, after walking six miles unobserved, escaped to Wallingford. Gest. Steph. 959. Guil. Newb. l. 1. c. 10.

[34] Guil. Newb. l. 1. c. 31. The alleged cause of the divorce, was their uncanonical consanguinity. After the birth of two daughters, the king's conscience became uneasy on this point. A solemn inquiry, before the prelates and barons of France, was made into the relationship, and the marriage was dissolved. Gesta Ludov. p. 157.

[35] M. Paris, 86. Gervase, p. 1376. Guil. Newb. 30—32. In William of Newberry, we see a writer of this period emerging from the common legends of the cloister to tales as fabulous, but more fanciful. One of these is of some wolf-pits, near Bury St. Edmund's, whence a green-coloured young man and woman appeared, who would eat at first nothing but beans, till, brought by degrees to take bread, their colour changed to our own.

The reign of Stephen was sufficiently disastrous to himself, and to his people. But the superintending Wisdom that is always seeking to convert our vices and follies to good and salutary issues, made even the calamities of this reign productive of important benefits to the country. By weakening the military power of England, they divested the succeeding sovereign of those abundant means of warlike aggression, which so often tempt youthful monarchs to disturb other nations with war, and which had excited the mind of Rufus to the extravagant projects which his death intercepted. By consuming the possessions and destroying the families of the great barons, and by introducing in their stead a numerous and motley host of knight-adventurers from all parts, who obtained ample divisions of the landed property of the country, England became filled with a multitude of less potent proprietors, whose existence prevented the mischiefs of an overgrown turbulent aristocracy, and whose independence protected the growing liberties of the nation.

Effects of Stephen's reign.

The devastations of the contending partisans, who spared none, who despised the higher orders of the clergy for their political venality, and plundered the ecclesiastical possessions every where with eagerness, because the booty was always ample, broke the spell of superstition, which in other countries was slavishly subjecting the popular mind, and accustomed the people to view with less veneration those pastors whose leaders were then projecting to acquire the sovereignty of Europe. The Pope was taught to dread the fostering of a civil war in a country which made the ecclesiastical property a favourite object of attack, and

own. l. 1. c. 27. Some of his other prodigies are amusing. But he has the great merit of having vigorously attacked the romance of Jeffrey of Monmouth, at the very period of its highest celebrity. His proemium is a monument of his historical good sense on this subject, which deserves our liberal praise.

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and the clergy themselves, from the same reason, became interested to avert it.

At the same time the evils universally suffered from the general practice of rapine and violence, convinced all ranks of the folly of continuing the system. When Henry had struggled to abolish it, his wise measures were unpopular, because they anticipated the progress of his age; but the benefit of his success gave to the reflecting an experience of good, which the outrages of Stephen's reign so forcibly recommended, that all the orders of property in the country adopted the conviction of the more enlightened; and in the next reign, the sovereign was encouraged and assisted to extend the authority of law, and to maintain peace and order in every part of the community.

As the system of knightly rapine fell into discredit, a taste for better things arose. The active mind, weary of brutal violence, and disgusted with the fame of the bandit, turned with pleasure to more laudable employment, and soon found gratification in literature, in the courteous graces of society, in arts, in poetry, and in the intellectual professions. The reign of the next sovereign displayed the national mind in an emulous cultivation of these nobler subjects of human thought: and we may add, that the perils in which Stephen had been involved, taught future kings the necessity of being wary, popular, and moderate. The succession to the crown was henceforward allowed to assume the shape of hereditary right; and no more ambitious nobles, like Harold and Stephen, were suffered to possess themselves of the throne to the disadvantage of their people.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. IX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

1154—1189.

CHAP. IX.

Extent of Henry's dominions.

NO king of England had possessed so much Continental territory at his accession, as Henry II. enjoyed: it comprized all the sea coast of France, from Picardy to the Pyrenees, with the exception of Bretagne, which his brother Geoffry was claiming. But even this state, which his possessions surrounded, had been subdued by the Norman sovereigns, and fell at length under his own influence. Of this extensive dominion he had inherited Anjou and Maine from his father, and Normandy from his mother. The provinces between the Loire and the Pyrenees, comprizing the largest share of the country which the Provençals call Occitanie[1], were the dowry of his wife Eleanor countess of Poitou, whom the king of France, not foreseeing the choice of her second marriage, had with an impolitic precipitancy divorced[2].

This

[1] The ancient language of the South of France, was called, la langue d'oc, from the sound of its affirmative particle. From this circumstance, the country has been called Occitanie, and a specific portion of it, Languedoc. The French have lately formed a new adjective, Occitanique, to comprize all the dialects derived from the ancient tongue.

[2] Louis was displeased at her nuptials with Henry, because he foresaw that his two daughters by her would lose her rich inheritance. Chron. Norm. p. 985.

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This unprecedented mass of power comprized, with England, the most warlike part of Europe; and wielded as it now was, by a single hand in the vigour of youth, might have tempted its possessor to the most extravagant ambition. If we reason from the achievements of our princes in subsequent times, with far less means, we may assume, that if it had been directed by our Black Prince or fifth Harry, France, then weakened by her great feudatories, must have been subdued, and the rest of Europe endangered. But great military glory is as much the child of accident and surrounding circumstances, as of will and power. Personal humour, temporary events, sudden obstacles, political institutions, or unexpected combinations, frequently withhold it, when other contingencies present a favourable crisis for its acquisition; and sometimes, as at Agincourt, it flows in all its plenitude, when safety was the only success that reason could anticipate.

With his apparent means of conquest, Henry possessed a spirit that was nothing averse to power and aggrandisement. He preferred the violation of his oath, to the surrender of the earldom of Anjou and its vicinity to his younger brother[3]. He struggled with that brother for Bretagne, and with a remote kinsman for Tholouse[4]; and he attempted to keep Flanders, which had been deposited with him only in trust[5]. Thus inclined to seek the profit of ambition, without being critical as to its right, and possessed of the power to extort what he coveted, the state of France at that time rather invited his cupidity than deterred it.

Its

[3] His father on his death bed bequeathed Anjou to his son Geoffry, as soon as Henry should succeed to the crown of England, and desired that his body might remain unburied till Henry, then absent, should swear to fulfil this bequest. Henry with great reluctance took the oath; but as soon as he was king of England, applied to the pope to dispense him from keeping it. Bromton Chron. p 1048. Guil. Newb. l. 2. c. 7.

[4] Chron. Norm. 987. 991, 992. 995.

[5] The count of Flanders and his wife committed their territory and heir to the care of Henry, when they went to Jerusalem. Chron. Norm. 993.

Its sovereign was neither formidable nor popular. The age was fond of warfare, and the daring hero was sure of having abundant followers and allies. Yet Henry abstained from pursuing the attainable laurels which were the passion of the times, and even submitted to be reviled for his forbearance, by the Provençal Troubadours, who were the popular distributors of the fame of their day. The truth seems to be, that he had a sufficiency of ambition and of its projects[6], but that he wanted its spirit of daring enterprise; he cultivated better pursuits; and he was surrounded with occasional circumstances, that compelled him in some measure to be pacific, or to use war with his Continental neighbours rather as a show than a pursuit.

His love of literature.

The king's intellectual cultivation was a predominant cause of his indifference for military activity. He is described by his ecclesiastical admirer, as devoting to reading and conversation every interval that he could obtain from his royal duties and sports of exercise. Conferences with his most literary friends, and discussions on intellectual subjects, are stated to have been his daily occupations[7]. His knowledge of history was great, and he encouraged and rewarded its popular composers[8]. His education had

[6] His customary remark, "That all the world was little enough for one powerful man," (Bromton Chron. 1044.) proves that his mind was sometimes occupied in ambitious meditation.

[7] Pet. Bless. Ep. 66.—Giraldus, who was much with him, remarks, that what he once heard, which was worthy of being remembered, he never forgot. He gives a striking instance of the tenacity of the king's memory. Whenever he had once looked at any one attentively, he always knew him again, although he was daily immersed in a crowd of new faces. Topog. Hibern. p. 784.

[8] Thus Wace says, Henry assisted him to compose his Historical Romans, and gave him the prebend of Bayeux.

De romans faire m' entremis
Mult en ecris, e mult en fis,
Par deu aie e *par le rei*
Altre fors deu servir ne dei.
M'en fu donée, Deus li rende
A Baieues une prebende.
Del rei Henri segout vos di;
Nevo Henri; Pere Henri.
Chron. Norm. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

So he mentions that the king had desired Beneit to compose his historical work.

Oie eu avant que dire en deit
Jaidit por Maistre Beneit.

Qi

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had been much directed by his uncle, called in his day the great earl of Gloucester, who implanted in him that love of literature and intellectual pleasures, which is the best antidote against heroic insanity, and the most noble accomplishment of a sovereign. This taste, after his marriage, was increased by the Troubadours, who pervaded his southern provinces, and eagerly visited his court. Trouveurs[9], minstrels, and poets, abounded under his patronage: they spread the love of poetry and literature among his barons and people; and the consequences of the royal taste soon became visible, in the improved education of the great, in the increasing number of the studious, and in the multiplicity of authors who wrote during his reign and the next.

The Troubadours celebrate his queen.

Both Eleanor and Henry liberally encouraged the Provençal poets. She was frequently the theme of their songs. Grand-daughter of the earliest Troubadour whose works have descended to us[10], she loved their praises and patronized their genius; and they, in gallant return, celebrated her kindness with an enthusiasm which breathes all the spirit of romantic passion. One of them, Bernard de Ventadour, who sought an asylum in her court, exclaims, in a poem addressed to her, "I would rather die of the torments I endure, than relieve my heart by a rash avowal. She has indeed permitted me to ask a boon; but I have one to ask, of so high a price, that a king ought not

Qi cest oure a dire a emprise,
Com *li reis* la disor lui mise.
Quant le reis li a roue faire
Laissier la dei, si men dei taire
Li reis jadis mairet bien me fist;
Mult me dona; plus me pramist.
MS. Ib.

[9] The distinction taken between the Trouveur and the Troubadour, confines the latter term to the Provençal poets of the South of France, and the former to the minstrels and versifiers of the North. M. Le Grand, in his preface to his Fableaux, has taken some pains to mark the difference.

[10] This was William the 9th count of Poitou and duke of Aquitain, born 1071, and dead in 1122. St. Palaye's Collections, as published in an abridged selection by Milot, begins with him. Vol. 1. p. 1.

not to risk it. Yet she approves of my writing to her; and she can read[11]."

In another piece, written after Eleanor had accompanied Henry to England, the sentimental Troubadour cries out, "Why can I not cut the air like a swallow, and lay my heart every night at the feet of her, to whom, at such a distance, I offer my songs? Every morning the nightingale wakes me, singing his love: He recalls to me the remembrance of my own; and I prefer these sweet musings to the pleasures of sleep[12]." In another poem, he takes a flight so rapturous, as to soar from passion into conceit. Alluding to her being in England, he says, "The winds that come from it, waft to my senses all the perfumes of Paradise[13]." With parents so fond of the Provençal poets, we shall not be surprised to find that their son Richard, the sturdy Cœur de Lion, was himself a Troubadour.

His peculiar temper.

The indisposition to war, which the king's intellectual taste tended so much to nourish, was increased by his peculiar disposition. This presented two marking features apparently inconsistent—extreme caution, and incessant restlessness. Though possessed of a power of aggression, which no existing prince could have withstood if it had been energetically exerted, yet he was always dreading the doubtful chance of war, and with the most anxious solicitude sought every other means of attaining his purpose, in preference to an appeal to arms[14]. Hence he became distinguished for his love of peace, and for his care to preserve it[15]. Admirable qualities! fortunate disposition! The more

[11] Hist. Liter. des Troubad. vol. 1. p. 31. Bernard's life was romantic and unprincipled. See St. Palaye's Troub. p. 19—29. As this Work is composed from St. Palaye's papers, I shall quote it under his name rather than that of Milot, who has abridged rather too penuriously his voluminous materials.

[12] St. Palaye Troub. p. 32.

[13] St. Palaye, p. 33. Bernard, after a life of poetry and some profligacy, became a monk in an Abbey in the Limousin. p. 37.

[14] Girald. Camb. Top. Hib. p. 783.

[15] Both Giraldus and Blessensis, his particular friends, remark this trait.

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more remarkable, because another characteristic of his mind was, its extreme restlessness. Such was his moveability, that he never sat down: if he was not on horeback, he was always standing[16]. The superfluous activity of his never-resting spirit, which the ordinary duties of his high station, and his literary studies and conversations, did not occupy, sought a channel for its own discharge in the perpetual fatigues of the chace. Actæon was not more indefatigable than Henry. At the first dawn he was on horseback, piercing the woods or flying over the lofty hills, and exhausting his attendants by his amazing power of continuous motion. In the evening, as if insensible of the possibility of being fatigued, he was in the habit of wearying all his court, by keeping continually on his feet[17]. Great instability and caprice were necessarily the companions of a mind and body so unquiet; and from these qualities arose a dishonourable practice, of faithlessness in his promises, and a teasing irritability in his temper[18]. His attachments and his hatreds were equally violent and durable. Regretting the men he lost in battle to a degree that was thought unprincely, he was yet stern, impatient, and severe with his living soldiers. Thus his compassion for the dead, restrained him from attempting important conflicts; and his perverse harshness towards those who were serving him safely[19], precluded that personal attachment which often kindles heroic enthusiasm by its animating sympathy.

It is obvious that a person of Henry's taste and feelings had no occasion to be a king, in order to be happy. But the same may be said of the sovereign who consumes his restlessness in war. As far as the trumpet, the drum, the roar of cannon, or the tumult of battle give delight, the commander of a battalion can enjoy them as

[16] Blessensis and Giraldus, ubi supra.

[17] Giraldus, 983. Blessensis also describes him as vehemens amator nemorum.

[18] Giraldus.

[19] We owe these intimations of Henry's character to Giraldus's personal knowledge and acute observation.

as intensely as an emperor; and dignity seems thrown away on such men as Charles XII. and Bonaparte, who make these things their gratification and their history. Compared with them, the unwarlike Henry at his hunting was a preferable character: society was never desolated for his amusement, nor his country exhausted that his vanity might be fed.

The state of England concurred with Henry's personal feelings and habits, to urge him to a pacific reign. Slowly recovering from the ravages of a long and bitter civil war, it was neither prepared nor disposed to engage in those lengthened hostilities, expensive both in population and wealth, without which, the power of France, though scattered and disjointed, could not have been overthrown. The coincidence of these various circumstances kept Henry from adopting the projects of the aspiring Rufus, though repeated provocations occurred that might have roused him to a desperate warfare.

Satirized by the Troubadours.

The value of his pacific character was not duly estimated by all his contemporaries. One of the more warlike Troubadours even satirized him for his inactivity: "I love archers," he exclaims, "when they lanch stones and overturn walls. I love an army assembled upon a plain in battle-array. I wish the king of England were as fond of fighting, as I am, lady, of retracing to myself the images of your youth and beauty! Undervalued as he may be, he would acquire more glory if he would give 'Guienne' as his war-cry, and shew himself the foremost in striking at the illustrious and valiant count[20]."

Thomas à Becket made chancellor.

One of the king's first measures was the exaltation of Thomas à Becket to be the Chancellor of England. As this individual occupied

so

[20] St. Palaye, Troub. p. 100. This Troubadour was Bernard Arnaud de Monteuc. He has another sneer at Henry; "I value more a courser saddled and armed, a shield, a lance, and an approaching war, than the haughty airs of a prince, who consents to peace by sacrificing part of his rights and of his lands." Ib. p. 99.

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so intensely the veneration of our ancestors, and his memory is still so much respected by those who believe him to have been both a saint and martyr, his history claims an attentive consideration in the present Work. It is too important to be passed slightly over; it is too ambiguous to be hastily characterized.

Becket was the son of a respectable citizen of London, and of a Saracen lady, whose adventures[21] might be classed with the tales of romance, but that, after the crusades commenced, human life became a romance, and society was full of wild enterprise and improbable incident. That Becket's admirers should give a Christian saint a Mohamedan mother, unless the incident had some foundation, would seem strange. But whether the account be a legend or a history, it forms a part of his ancient biography[22], and is amusing enough to be at least recollected as what our forefathers believed. His education commenced at Merton, and in the schools of the Metropolis; but his advance in learning was not great. He was afterwards sent to Paris to study, and on his return was placed in a civil office. His time was however chiefly devoted to hunting and falconry; and he was once nearly drowned, when he jumped into

[21] The story is this: His father, Gilbert, went on the crusade to Jerusalem, and became the prisoner of an Emir. After a year and a half's captivity, the Emir treated him kindly, admitted him to his table, and discoursed with him on the manners of his country. The Emir's daughter also saw and loved him: she made opportunities of conversing with him, and heard that he came from London. He afterwards escaped, and reached England in safety. She determined to follow him. She left her father's house, found a ship sailing to England, and, remembering the name of London, one of the only two English words she could pronounce, by repeating it incessantly she at last got to the Metropolis. Here she wandered from street to street, exclaiming "Gilbert." She at last, by chance, reached the street he lived in; a mob usually accompanied her, which roused the attention of the family, and she was recognized by his servant. Gilbert consulted the bishop of London on the circumstances, who, finding she was desirous of becoming a Christian, advised him to marry her.

[22] The preceding circumstances are in the account of his life, called Quadrilogus, because drawn up from his four contemporary biographers, l. 1. c. 2. They are also in an ancient parchment MS. in the Cotton Library, Julius, D. 6. and in Bromton Chron. p. 1052.—The Life of Becket, in old English rhime, MS. Cleop. D. 9. contains them. The later editions of Quadrilogus omit them.

into the Thames to save a favourite hawk[23]. Introduced soon afterwards to the prelate of Canterbury, he visited at his palace, and was hospitably received. He found himself inferior to the informed clergy, who attended there; but he had graceful and interesting manners. Twice expelled from the archbishop's court, he as often reinstated himself; and at last rose to so much favour, that he was sent on ecclesiastical negociations to Rome. His conduct there was popular; his embassies successful; and several preferments were presented to him.

Becket's administration;

Having thus secured the competencies of life, he proceeded to gratify his ambition. He felt his talents for business, and directed himself to the studies that would best qualify him to pursue it. With this view he obtained his patron's leave to learn the civil law from the celebrated teachers of it at Bologna[24], and afterwards at Auxerre. The richest parsonage in England was given to him, when he returned, and he was soon afterwards raised by the king to the dignity of chancellor, at the age of thirty-seven. His conduct as minister, displayed great ability. He led the parliament to banish the Flemish mercenaries, who were occupying and plundering Kent[25]. Under his administration, the king subdued the barons, who opposed the re-establishment of order and law; caused all the castles[26] and warlike fortifications to

[23] Stephan. p. 11. Quadrilogus—Bromton, p. 1056.

[24] Steph. 12. Quadril. Bologna at that time had the reputation of the best lectures on civil law. But it was also taught in England. From 1149, Roger Vacarius, abbot of Bec, had taught the Roman laws in England, and many pupils, both rich and poor, flocked to him to learn them. At the suggestion of the *poor students*, he composed nine books from the Codex and Digest, which, says my authority, "are sufficient to decide all the legal controversies that are accustomed to occur in the schools, if perfectly understood." Rob. de Monte Chron. 983.

[25] Steph. 13. This measure did not prevent the king, in 1163, entering, like his grandfather, into a treaty with the count of Flanders, for 1,000 knights, if he should want them. The subsidy for these was 400 pounds. See the Treaty, Rym. Fœdera, vol. 1.

[26] Almost every third town is said to have had a castle; which a Contemporary styles, little else than the dens of depredators.

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to be destroyed, with which the country had been filled, and by many vigorous efforts terminated the reign of rapine and violence[27]. Proprietors again lived undisturbed; merchants once more travelled in safety to their fairs and markets; creditors obtained justice, and the church security; external commerce revived, and the general civilization increased[28].

To restore the country to the internal state in which Henry I. had left it, the king re-established that sovereign's laws[29], revoked the grants by which Stephen had impoverished the crown, and reduced even Stephen's son to the possessions which his father had held before his usurpation[30]. On Becket's suggestion, he wisely invited back to England all the Englishmen of merit who had fled to France to avoid the calamities and violences of the preceding reign; and he advanced them to employment as their abilities deserved[31]. The administration of Becket is panegyricised as honourable to his sovereign, and beneficial to his country[32]; and his public measures appear to justify the praise.

The king loaded his chancellor with honours and emoluments; he gave him the prebend of Hastings; the Tower of London, with the service of the knights attached to it; the Castle of Eye, and the hundred and forty knights, its appended honor; and the Castle of Berkhamstead. The education of the young prince was intrusted to his care[33]; and he was not required to account for the temporalities

dators. Steph. p. 13.—In his last treaty with Stephen, the king had stipulated for the demolition of 126 castles. Rob. de Monte Chron. ap. Duchesne, p. 989. I quote this Work as Robert de Monte's, because the MS. Chronicle, Domitian A. 8. which is the same work, is ascribed to this author.

[27] Robert de Monte mentions several of these conflicts, pp. 990, 991. 993.; and Hov. says, omnia fere castalla quæ facta fuerant in Anglia tempore regis Stephani demoliri fecit. 491.

[28] Steph. 13.

[29] Hoveden, 491.

[30] Rob. de Monte, p. 993. This was in conformity with Henry's agreement with Stephen, in 1154. See the Treaty in Rymer's Fœdera, v. 1. p. 13.

[31] Steph. 16.

[32] Steph. 13, 14. With political objects not now discernible, Henry caused himself to be three times crowned. Hoveden, 491.

[33] Steph. 14, 15.

temporalities of the vacant prelacies, and the escheats of great baronies, which, falling to the crown, came under his custody. The royal confidence, as well as liberality, was unbounded; the king treated him with the familiarity and affection of a brother. Laying aside the pomp of sovereignty, he would come to him unexpected, as going to the chace, or returning from it, with his hunting-spear in his hand. Sometimes leaping over his table, he would sit and eat with him; at others drink a hasty salute and depart. They joked and played together with boyish gaiety, like equal and familiar friends. Becket conformed his manners to his master's humour, was gay when he was gay, and serious when he was grave. He hunted with him; he dined and slept at the same hours; and was so completely admitted to all his intimacies, that his acquaintance with the objects of his sovereign's immoral propensities raised suspicions of his own virtue; which, however, his biographer disavows[34].

his splendid mode of living;

It cannot be pretended that any features of the future saint were discernible in the chancellor. He is declared by an encomiast, to have been immeasurably fond of the popular praise, and all his conduct was directed to the gratification of this feeling. His horse was decorated with silver reins of such price, that the animal is said to have carried a treasure in his bit[35]. His palace shone with gold and silver vessels, and every costly ornament. His table and expence exceeded those of earls. And as on the one hand, says his biographer, he remembered little of the archdeacon, so on the other he seemed to use witchcraft for his supplies[36]. It is

[34] Steph. p. 17. and 14 Quadril. p. 8. As an instance of the king's familiarity, he mentions, that Henry one day pulling off Becket's new scarlet cloak, as they were riding through London, to give it to a beggar, the chancellor publickly struggled with his sovereign for the possession of it, till the attendants thought, from the noise and commotion, that they were seriously quarrelling. p. 17.

[35] Quadril. p. 8.

[36] Gervase, 1668. Steph. 14.

is attributed to him as a peculiar luxury, that every day in winter his floors were spread with new hay or straw, and in summer with fresh boughs and twigs, that if any, out of the multitude of knights who daily feasted with him, could find no seat, they might accommodate themselves on the ground, without injury to their clothes. He kept an open table for all persons who came to court, and never sat down without earls and barons, his invited guests. Every rarity was to be seen at his repast, and his providers were ordered to let no price, however extravagant, deter them from purchasing it[37].

The person and manners of Becket were interesting. Tall in stature, with a placid, handsome and commanding countenance, his figure pleased the eye; while his subtle reasonings, his polished elocution, and facetious gaiety, won the heart. His loftiness of mind, that was proud and ceremonious with rank and power, softened into affability, gentleness and liberality towards his inferiors and the necessitous[38]. Popularity being his passion, he studied to be attractive; and he knew that the condescensions of greatness have equal influence with its power.

His princely splendour procured him an extensive reputation. One object of the king's casual visits, was to ascertain if he lived as rumour narrated. Such were his liberalities, that scarcely a day passed in which he did not give away largely, horses, birds, vestments, or some gold and silver vessels, or money. This munificence occasioned him to be styled, The love and delight of the Western world. Nobles and knights crowded to do him homage; and the great barons, both of England and the adjoining kingdoms, thought it an honour and an advantage to send their sons to serve him. He had them honourably brought up and instructed, knighted them, returned some to their parents, and retained others

[37] Steph. 14, 15.

[38] Gervase, ib.—Steph. 12.

others in his family. He shared in the amusements of hawking, hunting, and chess[39]. Although of his personal virtue we know nothing to contradict the assertions of his friend, yet it is the abuse of language to attach the Christian virtues of meekness and humility[40] to such ostentatious magnificence—a habit the most censurable in a subject, whose only property was his official income, and who therefore could not sustain his liberalities by his honourable revenues—a habit the most pernicious to the nation, as it engenders in society that spirit of emulous expence and luxurious imitation, which destroys the frugal virtues of life, and converts public probity into desperate ambition and unprincipled rapacity[41].

his journey to Paris.

Henry's intercourse with the French court was at first courteous and amicable. The civilities of the two sovereigns increased when Henry, by the advice of Becket, proposed a treaty of marriage between his eldest son and the daughter of Louis. The French king accepted the proposal, and invited Henry to Paris[42]. It was in these negociations which Becket conducted, that his proud magnificence displayed itself in a pomp that only majesty could surpass, or ought to have attempted. His journey to Paris on this occasion is thus described: He took with him from his own household, two hundred knights, and others, all on horses, and well armed. Both they and their followers were dressed in new and splendid garments. He had himself four and twenty changes

[39] The phrase, in calculis bicoloribus insidiorum ludebat bella latronum, Steph. p. 14. compared with the una dierum sedit ad ludum scaccorum, p. 17. seems to imply Chess.

[40] Becket's humility was probably only the proud courtesy by which power strives sometimes to be popular. The description of humilis humilibus, elatis ferus et violens, p. 15. suits this species of condescension.

[41] Catalinam, luxuria primum, tum hinc conflata egestas rei familiaris—in nefaria concilia—compulere. Florus, l. 4. c. 1. To the opulentia, paritura mox egestatem—to the famem quam populus Romanus luxu fecerat—this author attributes the ambitious attempts of Cæsar and Pompey, as well as of Cataline, and the downfall of the Roman republic. l. 3. c. 12. et passim.

[42] Robert de Monte, 991—994.

changes of apparel, and every elegance of luxury and convenience that wealth could provide. He had all sorts of dogs and birds, which were used in princely sports; and a vast train of waggons, sumpter-horses and attendants, to carry the numerous articles of his state and intended liberality. When he entered the French towns, his retinue was displayed with the most solicitous ostentation. Two hundred and fifty lads went first, in bodies of six or ten, singing English ballads; at a little interval the hounds in couples, and the sporting dogs, with all their apparatus and assistants, followed. Then appeared his immense waggons, conveying his liquors, his chapel, his chamber, his kitchen, his furniture and his luxuries. His sumpter-horses paced next, with their guides. Behind these appeared the squires of the knights, carrying their masters' shields, and leading their steeds; then other armour-bearers, afterwards pages in due order. The falconers, with their birds, succeeded; and the cupbearers, and other gentlemen of his household. Behind these, the knights and clergy were seen riding, two and two, in long and solemn state. And when the numerous train was exhausted, the procession was closed by the great magician, Becket himself, accompanied by a few familiar friends, and gratified to his heart's desire, by hearing the French rustics exclaim, What a wonderful personage the king of England must be, if his chancellor can travel in such state[43]! That the son of the plain citizen of London should astound the French peasantry with this elaborate pomp, may be referred by his advocates to some recondite policy; but in the eye of reason, it can wear no other aspect than that of an exorbitant vanity which no common gratification could satiate.

If he travelled in this state through the obscure towns and villages of the country, it may be conceived that at Paris his grandeur

[43] Steph. 20, 21.

grandeur would be transcendently elaborate. It was so; and the accounts that are given of his luxury and expence in that city, are so enormous, that we are almost tempted, with lord Lyttleton, to characterize them as incredible[44]. Nor was this a transient fit of ostentation; it was his habitual character; for when he attended the king in one of his Norman expeditions, we see indications of the same splendour. Besides 700 knights of his own household, he had 1200 stipendiary knights, and 4,000 men serving for forty days. To every knight he gave three shillings a day, and feasted them besides at his own table[45]. We are therefore compelled to infer, that ostentatious vanity, meditating extravagant ambition, was the leading feature of his mind.

Henry's transactions with France.

Henry himself went to Paris on the consummation of the marriage treaty, and was received with all the splendour and courtesies that the French court could exhibit. The princess was delivered to a Norman knight, the justiciary of Henry, to be educated, till the prince grew up to a proper age for the nuptials. At the end of the year, Louis visited Mount St. Michael, a promontory of Normandy, on a pilgrimage of devotion; and Henry gladly embraced the opportunity of displaying his own dignity, and of returning the civilities of his own reception, with princely hospitality[46].

The amicable intercourse of powerful states, whose contiguity creates rivality[47], is rarely durable. Henry claimed, in right of his wife, the city of Tholouse, which a Provençal count had seized as a forfeited pledge; and he marched his summoned knights from Normandy and England, to obtain it by force. The king of France,

[44] Lyttleton's History of Henry II. vol. 2. an elaborate and valuable work.

[45] Steph. 23.

[46] Rob. de Monte, 994.

[47] The national feelings of the French at this time, we learn from a contemporary letter of John of Salisbury, "The French equally fear and hate our king." Becket's Letters, p. 36.

France, jealous of Henry extending his already formidable power, chose to march an army in aid of the endangered count, and with an indiscreet precipitancy threw himself into Tholouse. Becket saw the error, and advised his sovereign to besiege the town, and take the certain prize that was within his grasp, by the capture of the French king. Other counsellors suggested, that Henry had done homage to Louis for his Continental possessions, and that for a vassal to seize on the person of his liege lord would be a flagitious violation of his feudal loyalty. Becket urged in reply, that the French king having begun the hostility, had dissolved the allegiance. Henry remembered his friendly intercourse with Louis, and disdained to compromise the delicacy and the dignity of princely honour. He forbore the advantages of the siege, but he took his revenge by plundering the territories of Louis[48]. Their enmities at last ended in the marriage of their two children, while yet in their cradles[49].

Henry wars in Wales.

The depredations of the Welsh, to whom the disorders of the former reign had given boldness and power, now excited the attention of the king. But his first invasion was unsuccessful. Under Owen Gwynedd, whose panegyric has been sung by his contemporary bards, Gwalchmai and Cyndelu[50], the Welsh assembled at the defiles of the wood of Eulo, and while the English were advancing without that military caution which in warfare no fancied security should intermit, suddenly poured down upon their invaders. In the surprise, the first part of the English army was almost

[48] Rob. de Monte, 995—997. Stephan. p. 22. who, though a churchman, calls Henry's scruples vana superstitione et reverentia. Lord Lyttleton gives a copious statement of Henry's continental transactions, v. 2. p. 393—429.

[49] Cum adhuc essent pueruli in cunis vagientes. Hoveden, 492.

[50] These poets, for their barbaric genius, are among the most illustrious that Wales has produced. Their Works are printed in the first volume of the Welsh Archaiology. Gwalchmai's poems on Owen, are in p. 196—198. and Cyndelu's, 204—207.

almost wholly cut off. A cry arose, that the king had perished; the royal standard was thrown down, and a general panic prevailed. The king, darting among the fugitives, at last recalled them to their courage and their duty, and they effected a retreat. Lessoned by this disaster, his next aggression was better conducted, and was assisted by the operations of his fleet. Owen felt his power in the calamities of his country, and submitted to a peace. Henry cut down their woods; made highways, and built castles, to coerce them. Wales was invaded twice afterwards. Its population was scarcely civilized. They cared little for commerce, and not much for agriculture: petty warfare was their habit and their delight; their cattle were their chief sustenance; and hunting and war their most grateful employments. They were always at war with each other, or with the English borderers; till the destructive victories of Edward I. broke their spirit and terminated their power[51].

We now approach that period of Becket's life, on which human judgment, ever fallible, and incapable of scrutinizing the secret movements of the heart, will always be at variance. In one view of the conduct of this extraordinary man, he was an artful and a daring hypocrite; in another, he was a christian hero, a sincere and suffering saint. Which of these opposite portraits ought impartial history now to exhibit, as the true and genuine character? The memory of the dead is as sacred as the reputation of the living; and no honourable mind would willingly detract, unjustly, from that fame which is now all their earthly property. We will calmly state the facts that seem authentic, with the fair inferences that

[51] The best account of Wales, at this period, is in Giraldus Cambrensis, who has written on it in his de descriptione Walliæ, Anglia Sacra, p. 447—455. The reader may consult with advantage, Lyttleton, vol. 2. p. 329—389; and, especially on their manners, the interesting part, from 371 to 378.

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that immediately result from them; and leave the more recondite presumptions, and the ultimate decision, to the judgment of every reader.

Becket made Archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1161, Theobald the archbishop of Canterbury died, and the king recommended Becket to be the successor[52]. That he would not have nominated Becket, if he had anticipated his hostilities; and yet that, in his familiarities and confidential consultations with his chancellor, he must have disclosed to him his plans for the future government of the church; we can hardly doubt. Becket's acquiescence in the king's appointment was on this supposition an implied, if not an expressed, coincidence with his sovereign's feelings and policy[53].

In his conduct as minister, towards the clergy, Becket had given the king no reason to expect an intractable archbishop. He had certainly treated the ecclesiastical order like a statesman, whose religion was not insubordinate to his policy. When the bishop of Chichester upheld the spiritual supremacy of the pope, the king in Becket's presence declared the papal authority to be a thing conceded *by men*, and rebuked him for putting it in opposition to the king's authority, conceded *by God*. The people applauded the king's speech; and Becket sanctioned, if he did not prompt it, by reminding the bishop of his oath of fealty to his sovereign[54]. Becket imposed on the clergy the tax of scutage, for the war of Tholouse; which his antagonist, the bishop of London, calls a sword that he had plunged into the bowels of his mother-church, and which the archbishop Theobald, expressly referring it to Becket, prohibited under pain of excommunication[55]. The king had

[52] Hoveden, 492.

[53] Fitz Stephens, the friend of Becket, declares, probably from his master's information, that the king appointed him, trusting that the archbishop would be as obedient as the chancellor. p. 23.

[54] Wilkins Concilia, 1. p. 431.

[55] Lyttleton, vol. 3. p. 24. Mr. Berrington,

had therefore begun, under Becket's auspices, his measures for diminishing the ecclesiastical independence.

His ancient friends, however, declare that the dignity was suddenly and reluctantly imposed on him; and that he frankly told his sovereign, that it would occasion enmity between them, because he knew that the king would exact things in ecclesiastical affairs, which he as archbishop could not tranquilly endure[56]. But it is also said, that he introduced this laughingly[57]. It is difficult to believe that he could have made a grave and sincere remonstrance on the subject, and that Henry, in despite of such solemn declarations of Becket's determination to adhere to his ecclesiastical duties, should have persisted in appointing him. The smile which accompanied the prophesy of his opposition, was calculated to excite a disbelief of its fulfilment. But that he was eager for this dignity, is declared by his opponent the bishop of London[58]; and as his friend and biographer intimates, that before the vacancy occurred, it was a current rumour at court that he was to be the future archbishop[59], the opinion must have been founded on some disclosure, either of Becket's wishes or of the king's intentions. When the report was stated to Becket, he did not destroy the notion by an express denial; he merely answered, That he knew three poor priests, whom he would rather see advanced; but he added, "If by chance I should be promoted,

ton, the ardent advocate of Becket, admits his warlike exploits while chancellor, although in deacon's orders; as, his taking three castles by storm, which the king had deemed impregnable; and dismounting a French knight, in single combat, with his lance. Hist. Henry II. p. 12. The reasoning of his apology for Becket is, however, singular: "The ardour with which he sought his master's glory, shall reconcile to the fastidious casuist, such unsacred and indecorous scenes."

[56] Quadril. l. 1. c. 11.

[57] Quadril.

[58] This prelate, Gilbert Folcott, says in a letter to him, "You, *vigilant*, least of all shut the eyes of your heart on this event [the death of the preceding archbishop] and immediately hastened out of Normandy to England." Lyttleton, vol. 4. p. 422.

[59] Sicut rumor in curia frequens est. Steph. 17.

promoted, I so thoroughly know the lord my king, that I am sure I must either lose his favour, or prefer him to the service of my God[60]." So that even his friend confesses that he had speculated on the probability of attaining his dignity; that he knew his master's intended measures, was aware of their irreconciliability with the proper conduct of an archbishop, and was deliberately weighing the consequences.

If Henry appointed Becket because he thought his chancellor-archbishop would prove a ductile instrument of his will, it is clear that the clergy of England had formed the same opinion, for the king's nomination of his favourite was opposed and refused. His ecclesiastical electors declared it to be indecent, that a man who was rather a soldier than a priest, and had devoted himself to hunting and falconry, should be made an archbishop[61]. Above a year elapsed before he could secure his appointment; and it was the king's peremptory mandate, sent by one of his justiciaries, which at last obtained it[62]. It is important to remark, that during this interval, thirteen months and an half, he let nothing appear which discovered the peculiar path he meant afterwards to tread. He did not during that time resign his chancellorship, assume the saintly feelings, avow his resolution to make the archbishopric independent of the crown, or commence the peculiarities of his penitential life: It was not till his dignity was irrevocably secured by his actual consecration, and beyond all the king's power to annul, that he began that wonderful change of

[60] Steph. 17.

[61] Herib. Quadril. c. 11. The bishops, in their letter to Becket, remind him, that the king strove to exalt him to the prelacy omnibus modis, although the empress his mother dissuaded, though the nation cried out against it, though the church, as far as it could, both sighed and groaned against it. Becket's Letters, l. 1. ep. 126.

[62] The see was vacant one year one month and fourteen days. Gervase, 1381. William of Newberry remarks, "It was said that he got the dignity, minus sincere et canonice per operam manumque regiam susceptam, and therefore that he resigned it secretly to the pope, who restored it to him, and quieted the wounds of his conscience." l. 2. c. 16.

of habit, which astonished and shocked his sovereign, but made the people admire. His clerical friends refer it to a divine unction suddenly imparted, and flowing upon him as the metropolitan robes were put on[63]. All must admit that it was politically timed; unquestionably it was either a stupendous miracle, or a popular and crafty exhibition.

His total change of manners.

As if struck by a thunderbolt from heaven, he became wholly absorbed by the concerns of his soul. The stately and magnificent courtier, who had rivalled kings in their fastidious pomp, suddenly disappeared; and in his stead, in the vigour of manhood, the humble and squalid penitent was seen! The roughest sackcloth, overrun with vermin, was his chosen garment; his food, was the diet of mortification; his drink, was water in which fennel had been purposely boiled to make it nauseous[64]. He frequently exposed his naked back to stripes. Above his sackcloth, he wore a monastic habit, because he was abbot of the monks of Canterbury; and over that appeared his canonical dress, that he might conform to the customs of the regular clergy. Thus both the great divisions of the ecclesiastical body were flattered by his policy—a studied management that ill accords with enthusiasm. In his retired cell, he washed, on his bended knees, the feet of thirteen poor persons daily, refreshed them with ample food, and gave to each four pieces of silver. He was seen frequently praying, and reading the Scriptures. He wandered alone in his cloister, suffused in tears. He was indefatigable in the rites of the altar. He visited the sick brethren, to know and relieve their wants. His munificence of temper continued, but its objects were different—hospitals, almshouses, and the needy. Yet he was still Becket; for while he was

[63] In ordinatione sua unctione misericordiæ Dei visibili perfusus, exuit secularem hominem. Steph. 24.

[64] Steph. 24

was known to wear the most mortifying sackcloth within, his external apparel was splendidly gorgeous[65].

The surprise with which this change was beheld by all[66], and its popular effect, are the best comments on its political object. Can we refer it to one of those sudden conversions which human nature has sometimes experienced? If Becket's former life had not displayed the same ostentatious spirit, we might have hesitated how to characterize it; but this mortification was so visibly theatrical, was so analogous to his former love of personal distinction, that it must have been a delusion in his own mind, if he referred it wholly to piety. His subsequent conduct also creates insuppressible doubts. We see no traces of a humble Fenelon—the meek, abstracted, self-denying, world-abandoning saint. On the contrary, the ambitious churchman, throwing off all dependence on his king—asserting the anti-national cause of papal supremacy—labouring incessantly to emancipate himself and his order from all secular government—and even struggling to subject his ecclesiastical brethren to his monarchical authority—was the character which his future actions display. Every thing seemed to be studied by him for important effect. When he was visited by any of the clergy, his biographer declares that he received them with such reverence, that he seemed to worship the Divine Presence, or angels, in their persons[67].

He begins to differ with the king.

One of his first steps was to send back the seals to Henry, with a request,

[65] Steph. 25. I respect the honest prejudices of every man; I honour the zeal of believed duty; I would wish to sympathize with the conscientious judgment of sincere though mistaken piety. I will therefore make no comment on Mr. Berrington's warm censures on those who think unfavourably of Becket. p. 63. But though it may "speak a want of discernment," I cannot perceive that Becket's sudden "transition was most natural, or agreeable to the ordinary phenomena of human nature." It may have been sincere, but it was extraordinary.

[66] Ut omnes mirarentur. Steph. p. 27.

[67] Religiosos viros tanta reverentia excipiebat, ut credi posset se in eis Divinam præsentiam aut Angelos venerari. Quad. c. 16.

a request, That he would provide himself with another chancellor, as he was hardly competent for the duties of one office, much less of two. This measure is confessed to have first excited the king's indignation[68]. He knew that one of the imperial chancellors was archbishop of Mentz, and the other of Cologne[69]. Becket had never before on this ground objected to the prelacy, and therefore Henry felt satisfied that the incompatibility of the two dignities was not Becket's motive. It seemed the act of a man who had determined to burst asunder the ties of gratitude and friendship, and to pursue the objects of his mysterious ambition, unaffected by the moral sympathies which former friendship might suggest.

Thus alarmed, and with the irritating sensation of having been overreached by a man in whom he had reposed an unbounded confidence, Henry returned to England, and received the new archbishop, at Southampton, with a coldness that he did not affect to conceal. But as Becket had found the chancellor to be incompatible with the archbishop, the king on his part discovered that the archdeaconry of his own see was still more incongruous, and desired him to resign it. But this was the richest parsonage in England, and its emoluments were convenient to him; he therefore long resisted the resignation: but the king was immoveable.

The flattering honours with which Becket was in the same year received by the Pope at Tours[70], and the general spirit of the papal court there, inflamed him with new resolution to pursue his objects; and upon his return he began that conflict, which the king, whatever may have been his intentions, had as yet done nothing to excite, and which the best feelings of our nature required that Becket should not have been the first to have provoked.

His

[68] Quad. c. 22. [69] Rad. Dic. p. 534.—Under most of our sovereigns before the Reformation, the chancellor was a bishop. [70] Quadril. c. 19.

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His first exertions were, to vindicate, as he said, the rights of his see; that is, to increase its wealth and power; and therefore he demanded, of the king, the castle and town of Rochester, with other possessions; and of the earl of Clare, the castle of Tunbridge; and of other noblemen, various properties, which he alleged had at one time or other belonged to the church of Canterbury[71]. Undismayed by the alarm and indignation excited in the minds of the king and nobility by these claims, he inducted a priest into a parsonage in Kent, against the right of presentation of the lord of the manor; and when the owner expelled his priest, Becket without hesitation excommunicated him. The king in vain reminded him, that his immediate tenant could not be anathematized without his concurrence, and therefore required absolution from the sentence. The prelate haughtily replied, That it was not for the king to command, who should be absolved, or who should be excommunicated. This contemptuous treatment excited the king's wrath. Becket then thought it prudent to withdraw his excommunication. But Henry, enraged at this precipitate display of his new spirit, exclaimed, "Never will I shew any favour to him again[72]."

No conduct could be more causeless or less excusable than Becket's, in these measures. It was flying to the assault, not temperately maintaining the defence. His predecessor Theobald had done none of these things, and yet he is spoken of with veneration. There was, then, no necessity of duty for Becket to have exerted this outrageous zeal, or rather this impatient avarice of power. It resembled the first salience of a violent ambition, which seems to a calm reflection as inconsistent with true wisdom, as it was irreconcileable with meek and sincere religion, and with his personal obligations.

[71] Gervase Chron. 1384. and Act. Pont. 1670. Rad. Dic. 536.
[72] Steph. 28.

obligations. It seems explicable only as the commencement of a determined system of aggression and warfare.

King resolves to subject the clergy to his criminal tribunals.

Before the Norman Conquest, all complaints against the clergy had been decided, like others, before the hundred, with the addition of their metropolitan sitting as one of the judges. The Conqueror, unaware of the consequences, was persuaded to change this custom, and to direct that all ecclesiastics should be tried before their ordinary, in a separate court of their own[73]. From this period they claimed the right of being independent of all secular jurisdiction. And Becket determined to uphold this claim. Several atrocious cases of crimes committed by the clergy, and passed unpunished by their order[74], determined the king, for the common good of his people, to insist that clergymen accused of crimes, should like others be tried before his criminal tribunals. One abominable instance brought the king and Becket into direct collision on this point. A clergyman in Worcester had debauched the daughter of a respectable man, and for her sake had murdered the father. The king demanded, that he should be brought before his tribunal, to answer for the horrible act. Becket resisted this, and gave him into the custody of the bishop[75], that he might not

[73] Wilkins, in his Concilia, vol. 1. p. 368. has printed the charter that made this important alteration, from a MS. at St. Paul's Cathedral, collated with another at Lincoln.

[74] William of Newberry's statement seems fair and unprejudiced. He says, "The king being desirous to exterminate all malefactors without favour, it was intimated to him by his judges, that many things had been committed frequently by clergymen against the public discipline; as thefts, rapines, homicides; to whom the vigour of the law could not be extended. In his own hearing it was declared, that above an hundred homicides had been committed by the clergy in England, under his reign. Much disturbed at this, in a vehement spirit he instituted laws against church malefactors, in which he was actuated by the zeal for public justice, but immoderately. The bishops, being more vigilant to defend the liberties and dignity of their order, than to correct its faults, thought they did their duty to God and the church, if they protected the guilty clergy from public punishment. Hence the clergy having this impunity, neither feared God nor man."—l. 2. c 16.

[75] Stephan. 33. Let it be recollected, that this author was the personal and zealous friend of Becket.

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not be delivered to the king's justice. The king, who had seen repeated instances that the clergy permitted their offending brethren to escape with impunity, and that their crimes, instead of being repressed, became daily more flagrant[76], was earnest to accomplish his important object. In a meeting of the bishops at Westminster, he said that his kingdom was disturbed by the disorders of ecclesiastics, who were committing frequent thefts and homicides; and he required that, whenever convicted of such crimes, they might be degraded, and delivered over to his officers for punishment. Becket exclaimed, "Saving my order." Others concurred with him; while one bishop expressed an unqualified assent. The king, observing the conduct of the majority of the prelates, declared that he saw an army arrayed against him, and that venom lay in the exception. Becket replied, that he had sworn his fealty with that exception, and would not vary it. The king persisted; but after struggling all day in vain, he suddenly left the hall without saluting them, and in violent wrath. Becket, unmoved, severely upbraided the assenting bishop, for his acquiescence; and the king on the next day deprived Becket of all the honours he had conferred upon him[77].

The struggle between the King and Becket.

Becket soon began to find that he had not taken a popular ground. The superstitious veneration for the clergy was fast departing, and he struggled in vain to re-establish it. The increasing intellect of the age was breaking the spell that ignorance

[76] That the king was not complaining unjustly of the crimes of the clergy, is clear from the words of Becket's friends: "Some of the devil's workmen, clergymen but in name—among whom was one priest infamous for homicide." The same Author, after mentioning their light punishment by their own order, adds, "The king hearing that by castigations of this sort, the crimes of such clergymen, or, more truly, *tonsured dæmons*, were not repressed, but daily grew worse," &c.—Herib. c. 22.

[77] Quadril. Steph. 29—31. The empress Matilda's remark explains the cause of these clerical crimes. "The bishops," she said, "indiscreetly ordained persons to be clerici, who had no churches. Hence a multitude of those ordained was seduced by poverty and idleness to base actions." Ep. Beck. l. 1. ep. 53.

rance had made awful; and men and things were beginning to be estimated according to desert and utility, not by names and ceremonies. As the king's requisitions were better known, and more impartially discussed, the reason of mankind co-operated with the royal influence to diminish the partisans of Becket. A few only of the bishops continued to adhere to him. Two distinguished ecclesiastics announced the pope's desire that he would obey the king's will; and the great barons reminding him of his former intimacy with Henry, of the honours he had received, of the gratitude he owed, of his duty to maintain peace, and of the mischiefs of a conflict, exhorted him to submit. Alarmed at this combination of opinion against him, his haughty spirit bent, and he went to Oxford, and promised to change the phrase so offensive to the king. Henry, conciliated by the acquiescence, assumed a serener air towards Becket; but the wound of ingratitude had pierced too deep to allow him to resume his former confidence. With a visible mistrust of Becket's private assurances, the king desired them to be given before parliament, that the controversy might be terminated for ever[78].

The parliament met at Clarendon soon afterwards. But a new conflict of mind agitated Becket. From the king's reception of him, he saw that he had irrecoverably lost his confidence, and that submission would not now restore it. It then remained that either with a complete mutation of character, he should sink quietly into the common and deferent archbishop, renouncing his inextinguishable love of power, the active energies of his excited mind, and his insatiable avarice of admiration and popularity—or, that he should pursue these phantoms at the risk of his own peace, of the public tranquillity, and even of the interests of his own

[78] This account is taken from his own friendly and contemporary biographers. Quadril. l. 1. c. 25. The later editions of the Quadrilogus have been curtailed. I quote from an early one.

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own order. He felt himself unable to make the sacrifice of his darling wishes, and he appeared at Clarendon with the decided spirit of desperate inflexibility.

As soon as the public annunciation of his acquiescence was required, he gave a peremptory refusal. The king exclaimed against the tergiversation, threatened, and raved with indignation and disappointment. Becket heard unmoved. Two bishops entreated him, with tears, to pity the whole clergy, and to relax his pertinacity. Their efforts were vain. The royal commissioners then avowed intentions to compel compliance. He was immoveable, both to their threats and flatteries. The master of the knight-templars, a man of high celebrity, and another, then fell on their knees before him, and with groans and tears implored him to yield. The clash of arms now began to be heard, and armed men were seen in the adjoining chambers brandishing their battle-axes, and girding themselves for a conflict[79]. Becket at last, intimidated or overwhelmed, sullenly surrendered; he led the way, and pledged his sacred word, as was required, that he would observe what was then called the royal or ancient constitutions, suppressing the obnoxious exception Salvo ordine. All the bishops gave their oaths to the same effect, and commissioners were then appointed to reduce these constitutions to writing[80].

But soon the mind of Becket, stimulated by fresh emotions of his innate and yet unconquered passions, again attempted to renew the conflict: Careless even of his personal honour, which, having twice given its assent, could not now retract it without the disgrace not merely of faithlessness, but even of perjury. His new ground was, that he was not one of the sages of the kingdom, that he should know what the ancient constitutions were. An evasion too weak to impose on any. As chancellor, he had been so practically

[79] Gervase Chron. p. 1386.

[80] Quad. c. 26. Gervase Chr. 1386.

practically acquainted with juridical disputes, that he could not be supposed to have been incurious of the English laws; as the statesman, he had before well weighed the ecclesiastical privileges, for he had counselled his sovereign to oppose them; as the king's bosom friend and ministerial confident, he must have known the measures which his master intended to establish. The parliament civilly deferred to his complaint of ignorance, and the conclusion of the business was adjourned till the morrow[81].

In the meantime the ancient customs were reduced to writing, and on the next day produced to parliament. The prelates were required to affix their seals, to authenticate the record. All complied but Becket: he declared that he had never promised to confirm them[82]. This conduct was too revolting to be beneficial. At last he took the middle path, of not refusing, but of procrastinating his signature. Three transcripts were made of the important articles, of which, one was delivered to him, one to the archbishop of York, and the other deposited among the royal archives[83]. Vexed, ashamed, and disappointed, he quitted the court. He appointed to himself the easy penance of abstaining for forty days from the service of the altar[84], and dispatched his messengers to interest the pope in his cause; but the pope, in answer, counselled him to be moderate.

In justice to Becket, it must be admitted that these famous articles completely changed the legal and civil state of the clergy, and were an actual subversion, as far as they went, of the papal policy and system of hierarchy, so boldly introduced by Gregory VII. These new constitutions abolished that independence on the legal tribunals of the country, which William had unwarily permitted; and they again subjected the clergy, as in the

[81] Quad. c. 26.
[82] Gervase, 1388.
[83] Quad. 27.
[84] Gerv. 1388.

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the Anglo-Saxon times, to the common law of the land. The eighth article vested the ultimate judgment, in ecclesiastical causes, in the king; by the fourth, no clergyman was to depart from the kingdom without the royal licence, and if required, was to give security that he would do nothing abroad to the prejudice of the king or the kingdom; by the twelfth, the revenues of all prelacies, abbeys, and priories, were to be paid into the Exchequer, during their vacancy, and when the successor should be appointed, he was to do homage to the king as his liege lord, before his consecration. These and other points in these celebrated constitutions[85], though wise and just, and now substantially the law of the land, were yet so hostile to the great papal system of making the church independent of the secular power, if not superior to it, that an ecclesiastic of that day, according to the prevailing feelings of his order, might have fairly resisted them. The fault of Becket lay in taking the prelacy with a knowledge of the king's intention to have these new laws established, and in provoking the contest, and pursuing his opposition with all the pride and vehemence of fierce ambition and vindictive hostility.

Mortified at this complete discomfiture, Becket went to the king's private residence at Woodstock, to solicit an audience. His object in this measure is not stated, but it was an act of submission which a wise monarch might have improved into conciliation; Henry might still have found means to gratify Becket's love of distinction, without diminishing his own just prerogative. Unfortunately, the king, equally vehement in his dislikes as in his attachments, refused to see him[86]; policy was sacrificed

[85] They may be seen at length in Latin, in Matthew Paris, p. 100. and in Gervase, 1386. They are printed in English in Dr. Coote's new edition of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 3. p. 56.; in Mr. Berrington's History, p. 79.; and in Dr. Henry's History of England.

[86] We derive the knowledge of this little incident,

sacrificed to feeling; and Becket was made desperate. The king's hatred ensured him a life of mortifications, if not personal danger or degradation; and what part of Becket's nature could submit to the chance of these evils? From this moment, it became certain that the king's ruin or his own was inevitable. Both parties now forgot, that it is as true of violence as of vaulting ambition, that it overleaps itself; and that passion can never be made the companion of security.

Becket tries to escape.

Becket went immediately to Romney, to get out of the kingdom. Twice he ascended a vessel to depart; as often the mariners, dreading the king's displeasure, refused to sail. In the night he returned disappointed to Canterbury, and met in the morning the officers of justice, hastening to seize his possessions, if he had been found absent. This attempt completed the king's indignation, and a deadly warfare became inevitable.

Henry summoned a parliament to Northampton, obviously to crush the now hated Becket. The prelate, startled at the approaching collision, here made his last appeal to the king's sympathy. He came on the first day to meet his sovereign, but Henry was engaged with his falcons, and was inaccessible till night. The next morning he entered the royal apartments, while the king was hearing mass, and sat patiently waiting his appearance. When he came, Becket rose with a reverential air, and, with a mild and placid countenance, advanced to give or receive the kiss—the salute of English friendship. That so proud a spirit, after beginning such a contest, should bend so meekly to his competitor, was a triumph which might have satisfied a temperate resentment,

as

incident, so important in its consequences, from his secretary Stephanides, p. 35. From the bishop of Lisieux's letter we learn, that the king had been told that Becket had sneered at his levity and irritability, and had declared that the intemperance of youthful rashness in him must be steadily resisted. On this report Henry exclaimed, We must then use all our strength and art, as we have now to contend for our dignity itself. Becket Epist. l. 1, c. 85.

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as it led the way to the satisfaction of all reasonable policy. But the king was now the copyist of his own inflexibility, and declined the salute.

Becket impeached.

When the parliament opened, the attacks on Becket began, and they exhibit a series of vindictive and determined persecution. He was accused of refusing justice to a suitor. His answer was decisive. The complainant, instead of swearing to his case on the Gospels, had made his oath upon a book of songs, which he had brought with him. This charge being found frivolous, he was arraigned for high treason, in not obeying the king's citation to appear before him on this subject. He answered, that he had sent four knights to explain the imperfection of the man's oath. This reason was not deemed sufficient to excuse the disobedience to the summons of his liege lord, and he was condemned to have all his personal property at the mercy of the king—a sentence most disproportionate to the offence!

He was next charged with having received three hundred pounds from the wardenship of the castles of Eye and Berkham: He pleaded, that he had expended the money in their repairs. The king descended to reply, that they were done without his orders, and demanded judgment. Becket, with his accustomed and superior greatness of soul as to money, disdained to let that be a cause of discord between him and his sovereign, and gave security for the payment. Another article was a loan of five hundred pounds, which he asserted to have been a gift. These were all petty accusations unworthy of the royal dignity, to prefer against a person so distinguished; and Becket's submitting to answer so readily to a lay tribunal, was such a striking obedience to the Constitutions of Clarendon, that it ought to have terminated the discord[87].

The

[87] The circumstances attending this impeachment are taken from comparing Stephanides, 36—38; and Gervase, &c. With these may be read Quadrilogus. c. 25, 26.

The third day of his impeachment produced a demand which implied the spirit of determined revenge. This was a claim for his receipts of the revenues of the dignities of the church during their vacancies in his chancellorship. His answer to this charge was decisive, as between him and his sovereign. He had not been questioned for these monies before his consecration as archbishop, and therefore he entered his see exonerated from the responsibility. The fairness of this answer was irrefragable. If the king had meant to make him account for his receipts and expenditures as minister, he ought not to have appointed him archbishop; if he had not intended to exact responsibility on this subject, when he raised him to the prelacy, it was dishonourable now to make the charge. Becket's expenditure, though extravagant, had been visible: the king tacitly sanctioned it, by continuing him in his office, and by his subsequent promotion. In the year that elapsed between his nomination and consecration, his pecuniary responsibility ought, if ever, to have been exacted; but it is obvious that his sovereign never meant to require such an account, and therefore the accusation now became the malice of law, exerting its latent power to the sacrifice of its morality. The answer not ending the charge, which amounted to 44,000 marks of silver, Becket desired time to consult with his clergy[88].

His episcopal friends recommended him to tempt the king to peace by money. Two thousand marks were offered, but declined[89]. It was at last intimated to him that Henry had said, that it was impossible that he could remain king, and Becket archbishop in England[90]!

This declaration—the nature of the accusations—the unrelenting

Becket's danger.

[88] Steph. 38. The amount of the sum claimed is expressed in the Letters, l. 2. ep. 6. & 33.

[89] Steph. 38.

[90] Steph. 39. Gervase gives a detail of the bishop's advice to him, p. 1390. So Quadril. c. 27.

lenting prosecution of them—and the menaces, even affecting his life, which were conveyed to Becket—left him but one alternative. His own intractability had been retorted on himself, and he found that his submission had but sharpened the king's animosity. He contemplated his dangerous situation, and he found it every hour increasing in peril: the barons discontinued their visits, when aware of the king's severe intentions[91]; his bishops also sided with Henry; and none but the poor continued his friends. At this juncture, when an inferior spirit would have sunk into inefficient despair, the soul of Becket rose to all its former energy, and he resolved to depend only on himself. One means of safety, if not of triumph, still remained—it was to identify his cause with that of religion itself. This was not difficult, as Henry was commencing a personal attack. To threaten the life of an archbishop by violence, and to dispossess him of his dignity by secular power, was an aggression on ecclesiastical safety and rights, against which every part of Europe would revolt. Henry was now so eager to assault, that Becket had but the easy task of a steady, magnanimous and judicious defence. He shaped his future conduct on this plan. He clothed himself in his archiepiscopal robes: he took the silver cross from the hands of the officer who bore it, and carried it himself, as his safeguard and appeal. The bishops, aware that its appearance in his hand would irritate the king, solicited him to return it to the attendant. His answer was, "We leave this to God;" and unmoved by their alarms or entreaties, he went fearlessly into the parliamentary chamber, and took his seat in calm and silent dignity, with his cross before him, abandoned even by the bishops[92].

But Becket had adopted this simple, but effective, measure with the most intelligent discernment. The king felt its potent effect, and

[91] Steph. 38. Quad. p. 27.

[92] Gervase, 1392. Quad. c. 30.

and revealed his feelings in the wrath he expressed at Becket's presuming to come, as he said, "armed" against him. The courtiers, from the vehemence of the royal anger, expected his immediate destruction. But the silent appeal of Becket was irresistible; his silver cross was an ægis which compelled the king to pause. In the midst of his fury, Henry saw the impossibility of gratifying his resentment, without drawing upon his head all the prejudices, all the zeal, all the vengeance, of Christendom. Again and again he consulted what could be done to satisfy his passion, without exciting the danger. Various plans were agitated: at last one of the bishops suggested a procedure that was adopted. He went to Becket, and told him, "As an archbishop, we are bound to obey you; but you swore fealty to our lord the king, and you have been trying to break the laws that chiefly concern his dignity and secular rights. We arraign you, then, as guilty of perjury. We say we are not bound to obey a perjured archbishop. We place ourselves under the protection of the Pope against you, and we summon you to answer before him." Becket, more acute than they were, calmly answered, "I hear what you say[93];" and felt in silent exultation, that while they thought they had destroyed him, they had secured both his safety and his triumph.

He pursued their own suggestion; and while the king and the barons were proceeding to judgment against him, he forbad them, on the papal authority, from trying him on any secular complaint for matters before he became archbishop; and he appealed to the Pope against their sentence[94]. The lords came to him to pronounce their judgment. He then rose up, interrupting and anticipating their conclusion, and declared, that it was not for them to judge their archbishop; "Therefore, earl of Leicester, I command you, as a son of the church, not to presume to give judgment against your

[93] Gervase, 1392. Quad. c. 32.

[94] Steph. 42. Quad. c. 33.

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your spiritual father." Expressing this with tempered firmness, he walked slowly away. A clamour arose, that such a perjurer and traitor ought not to be suffered to leave the court. A spark of his ancient pride here lightened in his soul; he turned round with a stern countenance, and exclaimed, "If my sacred order did not forbid me, I would defend myself by arms against those who dare accuse me of perjury and treason[95]!" He departed amid the insults of the courtiers, and sent three bishops immediately from his mansion, to request the king's leave to quit the kingdom.

He resolves to escape.

The royal answer was promised on the morrow. But Becket, suspecting only difficulties from the delay, resolved to withdraw secretly. By the appeals to the Pope, the legal proceedings had been paralyzed, and Becket's cause was transferred to that tribunal where he was most sure of a favourable hearing. It is clear that Henry had been surprised, by injudicious counsellors and his passions, into a disadvantageous measure. In the warmth of the moment, he had suffered himself to believe that the renunciation of Becket's supremacy by the bishops, and their appeal against him to the Pope, had so far suspended his sacerdotal dignity, as to leave him amenable to the parliamentary sentence. Becket dissipated this delusion, by his own appeal to the Pope against both their accusation and their judicial competency, and put the king into the situation of being led before a foreign tribunal which his own friends had previously recognized, and to which, by his own assent, they had already challenged Becket.

But it is obvious that, by remaining in England, Becket would have only mortifications, if not perils, to experience, and that he could conduct his cause abroad most prosperously by a continental residence.

[95] Gervase, 1393. That Becket might justly complain of the proceedings at Northampton, is clear: But what right mind can avoid recoiling at his presumption, when it reads, that in his letter to the clergy of England, he tells them, "Christ was principally judged in my person before the tribunal at Northampton." l. 1. ep. 127. p. 194.

residence. To escape was now his determination. In the first watch of the night he went secretly out of the city, and reached on the third day a hermit's hut, in the middle of the Lincolnshire waters, where he rested three days. He travelled in disguise from one retired cell to others, till he got to Canterbury, where, to hear mass unobserved, he had an aperture made in the wall between his hiding-place and the church. From thence, in a small boat, with much difficulty he crossed in an autumnal sea to Gravelines; there landing, he travelled on foot, and in much distress, to the abbey of St. Bertin, where he found a temporary repose[96].

His conduct abroad.

The king of France, from his rivality to Henry, was induced to befriend Becket; but as the cause of the English sovereign was his own, his assistance was more complimentary than effective[97]. So the Pope's attentions to him were rather political than cordial. His messenger was suffered to be two days at Rome, before he obtained an audience, and though received at last with the public gesticulations of sighs and even tears, and with congratulations that the church had such a pastor, yet, when his friend mentioned Becket's petition to be invited to Rome, the immediate answer of the pontiff was a peremptory refusal[98]. The cause he supported was grateful to the Pope; but the Roman sagacity could not avoid perceiving that his previous character was not likely to make his contest

[96] Gervase, 1393. Steph. 48. Quad. l. 2. c. 2. & c. 6.—On hearing of Becket's flight, the king sent his mandates to the sheriffs, to seize all the possessions of the archbishop and his clerici—to put all the relations of the clerici, with him, under bail; and to arrest every one who should appeal to Rome. Becket's Lett. l. 1. ep. 15.—By other writs he commanded the bishops to suspend the incomes of all the clerici who had been about Becket after his flight, or who detracted from the king's honour. Ib. ep. 13.

[97] The French king was a better politician than a father; for when the English prelate saluted him from his daughter, married to Henry's eldest son, he kindly said, He wished she was with the Angels in Paradise. The bishop answering, He hoped in time she would get there, but that she would rejoice many nations first—the father replied, "All things are possible, but it is more probable she will be the cause of many evils. I scarcely hope that any thing good will come from her." Ep. 24. p. 37.

[98] Lib. 1. ep. 23.

contest popular, and that his personal temper, vehement and commanding, was unfitted to pursue it with success[99]. Hence the pontiff laboured to subdue his too aspiring spirit. When Becket resigned into the hands of his religious sovereign, his archiepiscopal dignity, the pontiff, on restoring it to him, expressed that it was proper that he should now learn the lessons which poverty alone could teach. With this view, Becket was recommended to the abbot of Pontigny, to live in his convent in that simple manner which best became him. The prelate submitted to the unpalatable rebuke; put on the coarse habit of the Cistercian order, and began the discipline of the monastic life[100].

Becket was indefatigable with his pen, during his exile. But his letters display more eloquence than judgment. If at one time he subdued his natural temper, so far as to write respectfully to his sovereign[101], he soon assumed a tone of dictatorial and exasperating reproach[102]. He stimulates an English bishop to activity on his side, with all the energy of martial phrase[103]. But all his exertions never

[99] Hence the Pope exhorted him, in the beginning of the struggle, to act discreetly, to defer to the king as much as possible, and to strive to recover his favour. Ep. 4. p. 12. At a subsequent time, the pontiff exclaims emphatically, "We ask, we admonish, we advise, we persuade you to show yourself to be wary and circumspect—to do nothing harshly and precipitately, but maturely and gravely to recover the king's grace and favour. l. 1. ep. 43. In another letter the pope exhorts him to endure the king patiently, and not to establish any thing against any one which would be displeasing to him. ep. 54. The pope afterwards resumed the same theme, and earnestly recommended to him to incline his mind to peace and amity with the king. He presses this so far as to add, that if things should not altogether please him, ad præsens dissimules. l. 2. ep. 1.

[100] Though I have endeavoured to be impartial, yet as I may have erred in estimating Becket, I would recommend the reader, in justice to a man so distinguished, to read Mr. Berrington's zealous defence of him, in his History of Henry II.

[101] Lib. 1. ep. 63. This letter is in a mild and measured phrase. But Henry must have smiled at his old festive companion now saying, "The daughter of Zion—the spouse of the great King—is held captive in your hand."—The mental metamorphosis implied by these metaphors, was too great to be duly appreciated by one who remembered him, like another Yorick, a fellow of mirth, courtesy and humour.

[102] As in ep. 65. p. 96.

[103] He says, "You ought to defend the patrimony of the crucifix; to repress the enemies of the church. *Arise! why do you sleep?*

never removed the prejudices against him, that pervaded England. It was not any one particular rival or antagonist only, who censured him, the public were not with him: they imputed his conduct to a proud and domineering ambition[104]. And even the clergy of England, in a collected body, probably in their parliamentary representation, addressed to him letters of admonition and inculpation[105]. Some of them certainly did not give him credit for the virtue to which he pretended: their language implies that he was not believed to be the heavenly-minded saint in his lifetime, with whatever veneration death, which ended his offensive personal peculiarities, may, for the sake of his cause, have afterwards enshrined him[106].

Attempts

sleep? Unsheath the sword of Peter. Avenge the blood of the servants of Christ, and the injuries of the church. Shall it fall from your memory, with what injuries I have been afflicted, since *in my person*, against all authority, all form of right, *Christ has been judged* again before the tribunal of the Prince. Cry out. Cease not. Exalt your voice," &c. ep. 40. p. 63.

[104] A part of the public feeling we learn from the bishop of Lisieux's letter to him: "Some think that your struggle does not proceed from virtue, but from pride. That, still the chancellor in spirit, you are striving that none should dare to resist your will. That you wish to raise a power independent of the king's will. That you so hang over the diadem itself, as to seek to make it subordinate to the church—and that you hope, if royalty should fail in the contest, none else will presume to resist you." l. 1. ep 85. p. 126.

[105] The letter from the clergy of England to Becket, is sufficiently satirical. "Fame has reported to us, that you make no machinations abroad against your lord and king, but meekly sustain the poverty which you willingly incurred! That, intent on sacred reading and prayer, you redeem the loss of times past with vigils, abstinence and tears! That, occupied now with spiritual studies, you are ascending to the apex of perfection, by increasing in every virtue! spare then your reputation—spare your glory—and strive to conquer your lord *by humility*; by charity—Add not trouble to trouble, and injury to injury, but, omitting menaces, by patience and meekness, and dependence on Heaven, now advance your cause." l. 1. ep. 126. They add: "It is the petition of us all, that you do not go on, by rash precipitation, to kill and destroy; but that you study, with paternal care, to feed the sheep committed to your charge, that they may have life, peace and security." Ib.

[106] Thus John of Salisbury lectures him: "My advice is, that you should commit yourself to the Lord with your whole mind. Defer other occupations. Laws and canons are useful, but they are not wanted now. Who arises with compunction in his heart from reading them? I say more—Scholastic exercise sometimes swells knowledge into pride, but seldom or never excites devotion. I would rather see you ruminating the

Attempts were made to disquiet the conscience of the king's mother, the empress Matilda, who was yet living, by this struggle. But the spirit of her father, Henry I. still animated her bosom; she defended her son's conduct, and approved of many of the disputed laws[107].

Becket had calculated much on the embarrassments which his resistance would occasion to the king; and his friends at times flattered him with prospects that Henry's difficulties would drive him to submission[108]. But there was a natural sturdiness in Henry's character, whenever his mind was exasperated, which dared all chances, and disappointed Becket's hopes. A spirit of irreverence towards the Roman see, the produce of its own vices, which marked the next century, had already begun to affect the English mind[109]; and this supported the king. The Pope felt his ground with Henry too insecure to venture a vigorous hostility; and though he remonstrated, he saw the danger of rushing to extremes,

the Psalms, and the moral Works of St. Gregory, than philosophizing like the schoolmen. Heaven knows the mind and devotion with which I suggest these things. Vos accipietis, ut placet." ep. 31. p. 46—48. He excommunicated this bishop.

[107] There was something clearly disingenuous in the address to her. She desired to hear the censured laws read: but Becket's friends, at first, said they had lost the scedula that contained them, and told her, in general terms, that some were contrary to the Christian faith, and some to the liberties of the church; and therefore both she and her son had to fear for their *eternal* as well as their temporal danger. Compelled at last to produce the laws, they found the empress acute in defending her son, and call her a Mulier de gente tyrannorum. l. 1. ep. 53.

[108] His friend, the bishop of Lisieux, reports to him, that Henry had begun to have some bitter presages of future consequences. "He is alarmed at the envy of the French; the claims of the Flemings; the depredations of the Welsh; the treachery of the Scotch; the rashness of the Bretons; the confederations in Poitou; the levity of the Gascons; and the expences of Aquitain. The state of the kingdom is confused by your absence; no one knows what belongs to ecclesiastical rights, nor what to the secular." l. 1. ep. 85. p. 133.

[109] Rome must have begun to decline in the public estimation, when even an ecclesiastic could tell Becket—"What we can do there for you, I do not clearly see. They do many things against you; few for you. Great men will come there, profuse in the expenditure of money, *Quam nunquam Roma contempsit.*" ep. 24. p. 37.

extremes, and long abstained from them[110]. He sent over two cardinals to examine the dispute; but the king was indignant when he found that they had only come to temporize, not to determine it[111]. It is clear that at one time the clergy were apprehensive that Henry would, like his eighth namesake, have separated England from the papacy[112]. Becket, if he could have infused his own soul into the hierarchy of Europe, would have embattled it against Henry. His energies were warlike; his pretensions unlimited[113]. But he wielded the thunders of the church against his opponents, with a profusion[114] which divested them of their terrors, and made even the cardinal legates interfere, and prohibit him from uttering them[115]. Becket's measures, instead of conquering, only exasperated Henry[116]. He succeeded, however,

[110] The king's answer to the pope, conveyed through the bishop of London, is temperate and dignified. "His mind is by no means averted from you, but while you regard him with a paternal mind, he will love you as his father, and obey your orders, saving to him his own dignity and the dignity of his kingdom. If he has not regarded you with his accustomed reverence, it was because, though he assisted you in your necessity, you have not answered him, as you ought, in his. He denies that he expelled Becket; and as that prelate departed of his own accord, he may return in peace when his mind is tranquil. But he requires the royal dignities to be preserved." ep. 38. p. 59. The king himself states his own case to the pope, in the letter, l. 3. ep. 20.

[111] These cardinals, William and Otto's, report to the pope of their proceedings, is in l. 2. ep. 28.—The letter, l. 2. ep. 6. contains an interesting account of Henry's behaviour to them, by some person about the court. The bishops, in ep. 33. state the king's anger at discovering their limited power.

[112] This intention is frequently alluded to. The bishop of London told the cardinals, that the king would possibly have receded from the Roman church, if the prelates had obeyed Becket's interdict. l. 2. ep. 6. So the English clergy remind Becket, that this might follow from his intemperance. l. 1. ep. 126. The pope himself hints an apprehension of this nature. l. 5. ep. 65.

[113] In his letter to his suffragan bishops, after rousing them to stand up on his side, he adds, "For who doubts but that the priests of Christ are to be deemed the fathers and masters (patres et magistros) of kings, princes, and all the faithful." l. 1. ep. 96. He closes by excommunicating many persons.

[114] Among the letters, p. 553. we have a list of the persons excommunicated: Their number and rank astonish us at Becket's irascibility and violence.

[115] See the letter, l. 2. ep. 29.

[116] One of Becket's friends gives a strong picture of the king's fits of anger. "The king, bursting into one of his usual passions, threw his cap from his head; unfastened his belt,

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however, in making his name celebrated through the Christian world, and in obtaining the countenance of all who had motives of quarrel or jealousy with the king of England. If he was proud, he was firm; if he was passionate, he was also persevering. If he was only acting a public part, he was at least so consistent and dignified[117], that he has left it to this hour a question of some ambiguity, whether the politician or the enthusiast predominated in his heart.

A conciliation takes place.

Six years of ineffectual struggle, in which the king and the prelate severely punished each other for the errors which both had committed, disposed them to a pacification, or rather produced a temporary truce, which benefited neither, because their evil passions continuing unextinguished, their public reconciliation was but a heartless scene of reciprocal hypocrisy[118].

At Freitville, the explanations and stipulated concessions took place. The archbishop declared himself satisfied, dismounted from his horse, and bowed himself to the feet of his sovereign. The

belt, cloak and vest; hurled them away; tore off the silken covering on his bed, and, sitting down in the dirt, began to gnaw pieces of straw." l. 1. ep. 44.

[117] His letter, in answer to that of the clergy, is written with much ability and eloquence. On his first state of life, he says, "You mention, that he raised me from a poor man into glory—I am not indeed sprung from royal ancestors, and I would rather be the man in whom the nobility of his race does not degenerate. Was I born by chance in a humble cottage? Yet, thanks to the Divine mercy, even in my poverty, before I entered his service, I was living with sufficient competency; with sufficient abundance; in sufficient honour, as you well know, indeed more than abundantly, among my neighbours and acquaintance, of whatever condition they were." l. 1. ep. 127.

[118] Becket's own statement to the pope, of his points of dispute with the king, enumerates these. He says the King required—That no bishop shall excommunicate any one for holding any possession from the king without his license; nor for perjury, or broken faith.—That clerici and religious men may be taken before secular tribunals.—That laymen may entertain causes concerning churches and tithes.—That there shall be no appeal to Rome.—That no archbishop or bishop shall obey a summons from the pope, without the royal license. These, Becket says, he specially condemned. l. 1. ep. 138. p. 228. They amount in substance to this, that the clergy should be as amenable to the legal tribunals of the land, as they are now; for almost all that Becket resisted, has become the law of the country—and, we may add, to the public benefit.

The king, on his part, sprung from his saddle, embraced Becket, raised him from the ground, and held his stirrup while he remounted. But one little circumstance announced that Henry's civilities were rather dramatic than cordial. He was asked to give Becket the kiss of friendship. The king declined it, with this remark: "In my own country, I will kiss his face, hands, and feet, a hundred times; but now, let it be postponed. I do not speak captiously; but my honour requires that he should seem to defer to me in something. To salute him in England, will be thought an act of favour and affection: it will look like compulsion here[119]."

The suspension of this friendly ceremony, like the omission of bread and salt among the Easterns, alarmed some of Becket's friends. The French king understood it to be an indication of unextinguished resentment, and counselled Becket not to leave France. "The king has not given you the kiss of peace; I advise you not to trust him[120]." Becket seems himself to have felt its hostile import, for he is stated to have said that he was going to England to die[121]. In his way to the sea, he met the king twice, but Henry still withheld the salutation, and is noticed to have taken some pains to avoid it. He took leave of the king with a foreboding mind, and emphatically told him, that he was apprehensive he should see him no more. Henry perceived the full meaning of his inquiring eye, and hastily answered, "Do you think me a traitor?" Becket respectfully withdrew: he had conveyed to the king's own heart the impressions of his fears; he had roused it to a declaration of his safety[122]. Henry promised to meet him at Rouen, discharge his debts, and either accompany him to England, or send the archbishop of Rouen with him. At this place, Becket neither found the king, nor the promised supplies;

[119] Steph. 68. [120] Ib. 69. [121] Ib. 69. Quad. 111. [122] Steph. 71.

supplies, nor the prelate with any orders to attend him. This breach of word again disquieted him. The bishop hospitably lent him three hundred pounds; and Becket travelled on to the sea, pondering on this equivocal conduct.

But whether the king was sincere, though with his excited antipathy unremoved, or whether he was meditating hostility, still the public reconciliation gave Becket the opportunity, which a wise man would have improved, of beginning that system of moderate and judicious conduct, which would have disarmed the royal enmity, or made it innocuous. Unfortunately, returning prosperity kindled into new life all the vices of Becket's disposition, and untaught by his painful experience, he rushed again into the same career of vindictive and dominating violence, which had ended before in suffering and disgrace[123].

In his absence, the archbishop of York had, with the other bishops of England, performed the coronation of Henry's eldest son, a privilege usually attached to the see of Canterbury. For this invasion of his right, he or his friends had obtained the pope's order for their suspension from all their dignities. This papal mandate, with sentence of excommunication[124] against other prelates, reached Becket as he was about to embark. He had the weakness to send them before him into England, too happy at the opportunity of striking down his opponents[125]. They received

[123] The error of renewed violence was strongly seen by some of Becket's friends. He writes to cardinal Hyacinth, as one of his steadiest, l. 5. ep. 51.; and yet this cardinal is particularly earnest with him, to be careful to deal with Henry in spiritu lenitatis; and, as it were prophetically, reminds him, that if he will take the viam severitatis, he will make the last error worse than the first. ep. 60. So cardinal Theodwin affectionately presses upon him, to pursue mercy, not judgment; to open the veniæ fontem non ultionem. ep. 62. Yet Becket chose the very path they deprecated.

[124] The papal mandates are printed among Becket's letters, l. 5.—By ep. 66. he suspends seven bishops. By ep. 67. he suspends York and Durham. By ep. 69. he excommunicates London and Salisbury.

[125] His letter, l. 5. ep. 70. is peculiarly emphatic

received their maledictions at Canterbury, and the country sympathized with their resentments. It was obvious that Becket was no angel of peace, and he was soon apprized that it would be dangerous to him to land at Dover[126].

Becket returns to England.

He directed his ship to Sandwich, a port of his own, inhabited by his tenantry, with whom he was sure of a good reception. The sheriff of Kent, hearing of his landing, hastened to the place with a squadron of knights, armed under their tunics. They told him, that he was entering the land with fire and sword, to uncrown the king; that he had excommunicated the archbishop of York, and all the bishops, for having done their duty; and, unless he took better counsel, it would be safer for him to remain abroad. Becket denied the treasonable imputation, and asserted his right to punish the faults of the prelates[127].

1170.

He was received at Canterbury with lavish expressions of popular joy. The cathedral was hung with all its silks and precious vestments. Banquets were prepared; a solemn procession ushered him in, while the bells were merrily pealed. Trumpets

emphatic on this subject. He insists on the papal letters being delivered to York, in the presence of the bishops, and to be publicly read, that their contents may not be suppressed. He says, Fear must be expelled; and the *arduous* things that are necessary, must be done constantius et instantius.—So that it is strictly true that he went to England determined on vigorous hostilities. In his after letter to the pope, he calls the prelates, his opponents—the priests of Baal—the sons of false prophets—the standard-bearers of the Balaamites, &c. ep. 73.

[126] Steph. 71, 72. Becket Lett. l. 5. ep. 73. I think it impossible to read Becket's letter to the pope, on his setting off for England, l. 5. ep. 52. without perceiving that he went determined to punish the bishops, unless they threw themselves on his mercy, and submitted to obey him; and that, although he thought it prudent to spare the king at first in words, he was determined to renew a severe contest with him. He asks from the pope full powers, for this alledged reason, "Because inasmuch as he is more powerful and fierce, so much the stricter fetters and the harder staff are necessary to bind and to repress him." These are Becket's own words, p. 817.

[127] Steph. 73. Becket, in his letter, l. 5. ep. 73. gives his own account of these conferences. He refused to absolve the bishops. Being further urged, he added, unless they would swear to obey the papal mandate.

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Trumpets announced his progress, amid the shouts of the multitude; and the organ was made to pour its loudest notes of gratulation[128].

His hostile intentions.

The mitred clergy accused him of coming to set England in flames, in thus trampling down his fellow bishops, uncited, unheard, and even unjudged. He answered, that the peace of sinners was no peace; that the Pope had sent the mandate, that evil peace might be broken. Jerusalem, in her wealth and self-indulgence, might think she was at peace, but the divine vengeance was hanging over her[129]. This figurative language could only increase alarm and discontent. Becket proceeded to London, to meet the young king Henry, whom he had brought up; and also to begin his visitations on those whom he disapproved of. The clergy at Rochester received him with the veneration he loved, and accompanied him to the metropolis[130]. The populace here greeted him with the acclamations that novelty, pomp, and the belief of persecution by power, always excite. But his self-gratulation was disturbed by a message from the young king, declining to see him, and ordering him not to go through towns and castles, but to return to Canterbury, and remain in his see[131].

A few of his knights attended him back to Kent, armed with lances and shields, to protect him from insults. This circumstance occasioned it to be reported to Henry in Normandy, that Becket was traversing England with an armed force. Becket every day experienced

[128] Steph. 73. Quad. l. 3. c. 5.

[129] Steph. 74.

[130] His biographers declare that his visit to London was the beginning of a tour he projected all over his province, to pluck and root up (ut evelleret et eradicaret) what, during his absence, had grown up distorte et incomposite, in the Lord's garden. Quad. l. 3. c. 9. So that he had determined on recommencing hostility.

[131] Steph. 75. The messenger was the queen's brother, who seeing a rich citizen advancing to Becket, exclaimed, "Are you coming to the king's enemy?" Ib. 76. Becket was stout enough to answer, that he would not have obeyed the order, if a solemn festival (Christmas) had not been approaching. Quad. l. 3. c. 9.

experienced new indications of the enmity which his own hostile spirit had provoked. The priors of the churches, and the upper citizens of London, who had gone to meet him, were summoned by the king's officers to give bail, to answer a charge of seditious conduct for thus receiving the king's enemy. When he reached Canterbury, many indignities were offered, to provoke him or his servants to some intemperance that might justify hostility. Becket restrained his feelings, but now beheld his danger. He told his clergy, that the quarrel could not now end without effusion of blood; but that he was ready to perish for the church. He wrote to the Pope, that the sword of death hung over him, and desired his prayers[132]. Yet, although thus alarmed, there is no intimation that he offered to withdraw any one of the offensive measures, which, by attacking the safety of others, had brought his own into peril. He seems to have still resolved to rule the tempest, or to perish in it.

The suspended prelates proceeded to the king in Normandy, mentioned their degradation, and imputed it to Becket. Henry asked their counsel. They answered, "It is not for us to say what ought to be done."—At last one added, "While he is alive, neither you nor your kingdom will have peace[133]." This dreadful truth completed the king's wrath, perhaps the more strongly, because he had to blame himself for appointing to the sacred situation, for political convenience, a man who at the time of his nomination was of all others the most unfit, and who had only acted since, as a knowledge of mankind might have led his king to have anticipated. Becket had been no hypocrite before his consecration; lofty ambition had characterized all his conduct; and to give it the sovereign prelacy of England for its field of action, was an imprudence which a moderate share of wisdom would

[132] Steph. 78.

[133] Ibid.

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would have forbidden. The king's anger and disquiet was so visible in his countenance and actions, that four barons of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urso, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Bryto, resolved to restore his tranquillity, by destroying his adversary. They suddenly left the court, took different roads to avoid suspicion, and met together about the same hour at Saltwood, near Canterbury. Ignorant of their absence, Henry held a counsel with his barons, and complained of Becket's treasonable intentions. The result was, that three of them were dispatched to arrest the archbishop[134]. But the others arriving first, anticipated their purpose.

His new excommunications.

It was Christmas day. Becket performed high mass himself in the cathedral, and preached to the people. In this sermon, he took occasion to say, that one of their archbishops had been a martyr, and that it was possible they might have another. But yet unaltered in spirit, with this possibility distinctly in his recollection, he closed the service of this sacred day, the nativity of the Divine Teacher of peace, forgiveness, and brotherly love, with pronouncing three new excommunications[135], uttered with all the fierceness, animation and boldness, that indignant eloquence could express[136]. On the fifth day afterwards, the four barons entered Canterbury, with a large military force, which they had collected from the neighbouring castles. They sent to the mayor to bring the

[134] Steph. 79. These commissioners had no part in the catastrophe that followed.

[135] Steph. 80. I feel authorized to put this fact thus strongly, because his friend the cardinal Theodwin exhorted him to a *mild* conduct, that he might be verbo et opere, imitatorem Christi. ep. 62. p. 828.

[136] After describing the first part of his discourse to have been a pathetic address to their feelings, the words of his biographers are, "Post priores gemitus, *tam ferus, tam indignabundus, tam ardens, tam audens*, nominatim et expressim in cervicosos terræ et spureos invehitur, et plerosque de aulicis regi patri magis familiaribus—in spiritu judicii et spiritu ardoris anathemate percussit." l. 3. c. 10. This was his first and last public discourse before his death. It appears to me to demand our fixed attention, because the man of violence will always excite and must always expect the stroke of repercussion.

the citizens armed to the prelate's house, on the king's service. Finding that the city officers hesitated, they then commanded that at least they should make no stir, whatever might happen[137].

His catastrophe.

With twelve of their knights, they proceeded to Becket's bed-chamber. It was about 10 o'clock. He had just finished his own repast: his family was still at table. He saluted the intruders, who made no intelligible answer, but sat down, facing him, among the monks. Reginald told him, that they came from the king, to have the excommunications withdrawn, the suspended restored, and satisfaction given to the government on his treasonable projects. Becket said, the Pope had excommunicated, and must absolve the archbishop; but that he would restore the others, if they would with humble submission put themselves upon his mercy. "From whom had you the archbishoprick?" demanded Reginald. 'Its spirituals from God and the Pope,' said Becket, 'its temporals from the king.' "Did not the king give you all?" 'By no means.' The barons murmured, and gnashed their teeth; they remembered the king's efforts to compel his election, and they thought his distinction a casuistry. Becket exclaimed, 'In vain you menace me. If all the swords of England were brandishing over my head, your terrors could not move me. Foot to foot, you would find me fighting the battle of the Lord.' He added, 'Knowing what has passed between you and me,' (three of them had been in his service as chancellor) 'I wonder that you dare to threaten an archbishop in his house.' "We will do more than threaten," cried Reginald fiercely, and rose to withdraw. His retainers now gathered round Becket. The barons seized some of his knights, and rushed through the hall to their friends, who had possessed

[137] The following account is drawn up from the narrative of William Fitz Stephen, who was present at all the incidents, and who remained with the archbishop even when his other friends fled: I have therefore preferred his authority. p. 81—88. The more copious accounts may be seen in Quadrilogus, l. 3. c. 13.

possessed themselves of the gate, calling them to arms. Reginald put on his armour in the fore court, and took an axe from a man at work. As their blows, to force again their entrance, were heard, Becket was advised to take an asylum in the church. He refused. Some forcibly pressed him out; others remarked, that it was time for vespers. He then ordered his cross to be brought, and slowly followed his friends to the cloister. He went on to the upper altar, where he used to hear the family mass. He had scarcely ascended the fourth step, when Reginald appeared in complete armour, and with his sword drawn. "Hither! to me—ye servants of the king." The other three followed, covered with mail, and brandishing their swords. His friends wished to shut the door against them. He descended from the steps to forbid it: he saw that if they intended murder, escape was hardly possible, and he determined to die with dignity and courage. Yet as the evening shade was now spreading, and they were near the crypt, he might have retired into some of its dark corners, or through another door have gained the staircase, and had at least an interval of safety. He declined both. He neither supplicated nor complained. A voice cried, "Where is the traitor?" He was silent. "Where is the Archbishop?" 'Here,' answered Becket—'but not a traitor. Why do you enter the church in such a dress? What is your object?' "That you should die—it is impossible that you can be allowed to live longer." Becket's only reply was, 'Then I go to death in the Lord's name. I commend my soul, and the cause of the church, to God and the Saints. I will never fly on account of your swords, but I forbid you to touch my friends.' Some one at this moment struck him between the shoulders, with a sword flat, saying, "Fly, or you are dead!" He would not stir, but stretched out his neck to their blows. Others wished to drag him first out of the church, not chusing to destroy him

him there. He declared that he would not leave it; and that they might execute there, their intentions or their orders. As they dragged him, he resisted, and his friends struggled to hold him back. A blow, from Tracy's sword, at one of the assistants, wounded Becket's head and arm. When he saw his blood, he recommended his soul to God. A second blow threw him on his face before an altar; yet he had strength to join his hands as in prayer, and to cover himself with his cloak, that he might die decently. In this procumbent posture, another struck him with such violence on the head, that the sword broke in his skull, and and on the pavement. A fourth blow, also on the head, destroyed him[138].

Thus perished by foul murder, this celebrated man, courageous in his death, extraordinary in his life—possessed of a spirit too great for a subject—vast in all his designs—never measuring his objects by their practicability, but pursuing them with a vehemence as imperious as his ambition, and with a perseverance which failure only stimulated, and which even personal danger could neither appal nor diminish.

But his murder justly excited a sentiment of indignation through Europe. Henry's solemn asseveration, that it was perpetrated without his privity, and his promises to abandon his favourite measures, were at last admitted at Rome[139]; but he was enjoined a humiliating penance at Becket's tomb, who was in time canonized as a saint, and venerated as a martyr. His death expiated the faults of his life. Assassination puts the sympathies of all men on the

[138] A strange delusion of mind has led his biographers to endeavour to find, and anxiously to describe, a similarity between some of the circumstances of Becket's death, and our Saviour's sufferings. See Quad. c. 18. In this, however, they only followed Becket's own tone, which we have already remarked.

[139] Hoveden details Henry's lavish promises to the pope, p. 529. But though apparently defeated, that he practically established his power over his clergy seems probable, from his conduct towards the bishop of Durham after Becket's death. Hoved. p. 615.

the side of the victim. He died a martyr to the principles he chose to maintain; and as they were favourable to the papal pretensions, his memory was enshrined with every honour that the papal power could confer.

In our times, this political drama has ceased. We compassionate Becket for his flagitious murder; but we cannot avoid feeling, that if he had succeeded in his struggle, his success would have converted the clergy of England into a distinct Braminical cast released from all legal responsibility, independent of both crown and parliament, and towering high above all in an awful sanctity flowing from their order, unconnected with their moral conduct, and which no personal vices would have been admitted to destroy. Some exhibition of this sort has appeared in Spain and Portugal; to the political misery, and intellectual (perhaps we may add even moral) degradation, of both those countries. Its establishment in England, would have favoured its introduction into France[140]; and Europe might have became a new Egypt, governed by an hierarchy, whose leader would have been the pope[141]. The great effect of Henry's struggle was to prevent this stupendous revolution, by subjecting the clergy to the legal tribunals, and to the constitution of the country. What sovereign has maintained a cause more momentous to his people or mankind?

Thomas

[140] How disposed some of the dignified clergy of France were to make the pope the universal sovereign, we may perceive from the beginning of one of the letters of the archbishop of Sens to the Pontiff: "To your apostolati, O holy father, is *given all power in heaven and in earth.* A two-edged sword is in your hands. You are appointed *over all* nations and kingdoms, to bind their kings in fetters, and their nobles in iron shackles." l. 5. ep. 82. p. 861. He calls him majestatem vestram, p. 863; a phrase which Becket also sometimes addressed to the pope, l. 1. ep. 129. p. 212.

[141] Becket may have conceived that the sacerdotal government of the world was preferable to its government by uncivilized and illiterate warriors. He may have been half an enthusiast. But his personal aggrandizement was so intimately connected with his success, that we cannot now separate his conscience from his ambition.

Thomas à Becket was the last of that description of ambitious clergymen, who endeavoured to rival the throne, and to raise the church above the crown, the ecclesiastical above the constitutional power of the state. But after him, the struggle was attempted no more. His fate was a lasting admonition of the personal danger of such conflicts; and the experience, that an archbishop of his talents and activity could be destroyed, without rebellion in the people and deposition to the king, taught every future metropolitan to calculate the perils as well as the gratifications of ambition. Becket had lived in honour and greatness, vying with the proudest, till he began the conflict. Mortifications, suspicion, a seven years exile, and a violent death, were its bitter compensations. The hazards and the evils of such an enterprize, thus proved to be greater than the good that could be attained, no more Odos, Dunstans, Anselms, or Beckets, appear in our ecclesiastic history. If Becket failed, who could hope to succeed? and what had Becket gained? Of him, from the hour in which he began his sacerdotal combat, the prophetic metaphor may be justly repeated—"He sowed the wind, and he reaped the whirlwind[142]."

Henry's acquisition of Ireland.

One of the most important events of the reign of Henry II. was the annexation of Ireland to the crown of England.

Of this interesting country, so pregnant with genius and sensibility, and with taste and judgment fast maturing, it is impossible to speak without respect and affection. Her present improvements announce

[142] A passage in one of Becket's letters, makes me think that his expansive mind had framed some vast plan of aggrandizement for his king as well as for himself, if that king had consented to have been subservient to his authority; for he solemnly says—"They charge me with wishing to depose the king. God is my witness, that if he had assisted the church, I would rather that he would have possessed not one kingdom only, but *many, and the most extensive kingdoms of the earth.*" l. 5. ep. 73. p. 851. Who can tell from what desolations of ambition the discord between Henry and Becket preserved mankind?

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announce a brilliant futurity; but we have here to contemplate her rude infant form. She has now attained an eminence, from which she may look back with the pride of conscious progress on the state of her barbarous ancestors. The nations of the East began in civilization, and have degenerated into barbarism; but the nations of Europe peopled it in their savage state, and have gradually advanced to refinement and celebrity. Ireland has experienced this progress: and her humble cradle is interesting, from its striking contrast with her rising prosperity.

Ireland known to the Greeks;

Ireland was very early known to the Greeks. It is mentioned in works ascribed to Orpheus[143], and Aristotle[144]. In the first, it is called Iernis; in the latter, Ierne. These terms may be only mispronunciations of its old vernacular name, Eirin, or Erin, which indeed actually occurs in Diodorus Siculus, who calls the island Irin[145].

Its historical fables;

It is well known that the Irish claim a very ancient and diversified ancestry. Their inventions or traditions—of colonies led by Cesæra the grandson of Noah, by Partholanus three hundred years after the deluge, by Nemedus the Scythian, by the sons of Dela—existed even in the twelfth century, and are commemorated by Giraldus Cambrensis[146]. The fabulous history of Ireland has since been worked into an elaborate tissue by O'Flaherty[147]; and in our days, Vallancey has added suppositions with

[143] The Argonautica. v. 1179. It says, "We passed by the island Iernida," which is the accusative case of Iernis.

[144] De Mundo. c. 3.—"two great islands, which they call Albion and Ierne."

[145] Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 309. In the old Irish verse cited by Flaherty, Og. p. 1. it is called Eire—

Eire ard inis na kiog,
Maigean molbthac na moirgniom.
Eire, the eminent island of kings—
The celebrated place of the magnanimous.

So, in the poem written by Modud about 1143, beginning

Eire, og inis na naom—
Eire, virgin island of saints.

[146] In his Topographia Hibernica, l. 3. c. 1.—4. printed by Cambden in his Anglica, Normanica, Hibern. Franc. 1603.

[147] In his Ogygia, London 1685.

with all the extravagance, without the ingenuity, of fiction[148]. It would seem that their ancient poems and chronicles contain names and series of kings, but with inconsistent chronology and a barren nomenclature, from which subsequent chroniclers have, like Saxo Grammaticus, attempted to build up a national history[149].

But Ireland yet wants an intelligent investigator of her antiquities, who, competent to decipher her decaying manuscripts, and uniting a cool discernment with adequate learning and impartiality, will collect her curious memorials that yet remain, and separate the spurious and unauthorized fable from the authentic document and genuine tradition. That Ireland had anciently acquired great celebrity, we may infer from the intimation of Festus Avienus, that it was called The Sacred Island[150]. Many of its traditions imply that it has been much consecrated by superstition, but we cannot now discover the reason of its peculiar veneration.

Its connections with Spain;

Of all their traditions, one of their most ancient and least irrational, is that which deduces some part of their population from Spain[151]. That it was frequented, in ancient times, by navigators

[148] See his numerous Essays, dispersed in the Collectanea Hibernica; and especially the 4th vol.

[149] O'Flaherty particularizes three ancient poems. One, beginning with the verse quoted in the preceding note (145) contained the first colonies brought into Ireland, and the names of the chief kings of Ireland, to St. Patrick; of whom one distich stated 136.—The second poem was written, 1143, by G. Modud, an ecclesiastic of Ardbrecain, beginning with the verse quoted in the latter part of the above-mentioned note, carrying on the Irish history from 428 to 1022.—The third poem, written by Conang O'Malconar, comprised the history from 428 to 1014. But he says that he could not fix his foot in either of these poems, because he found that the separate numbers allotted to each king's reign, did not agree with the totals in the same author; and though he tried three copies of the first poem on the heathen kings, he found them to differ, not only from each other, but with themselves, as he explains in p. 2.

[150] He says, two days will bring you
- - - in sacram, sic insulam
Dixere prisci - - - -
Eam que late gens Hibernorum colit.
Felt. Av.

[151] Nennius, who wrote in the ninth century, mentions this tradition twice. He states, without any chronology, and with some of the usual drapery of tradition, that two

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navigators from Cadiz, is mentioned by a Greek writer[152]; and indeed, unless we suppose that it had been visited by Phenician or Carthaginian merchants, from their Spanish ports, we cannot satisfactorily account for its having become known by name to the Greeks so long before they or the Romans personally explored the Irish Ocean.

Its language;

Its vernacular language proves beyond all controversy that its inhabitants have sprung from the great Celtic race, which once pervaded the Western regions of Europe. The Irish tongue is of the same generic family with the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Armoric; but the differences in its declensions, conjugations, particles, and structure, prove that it early separated from its parent stock, before the kindred languages attained the state in which they have become known to us. The Gaelic differs from the Welsh little more than the Latin from the Greek.

and letters.

Much has been disputed about the Irish letters. The Bobeloth characters; the Beth-luisnon, Ogham, and Ogham-Croabh writing; have been eagerly dilated on. But although it has been fancied that Fenius Farsadh, the pronepos of Japhet, first invented Irish letters[153]; and

two attempts were made to colonize it from Spain; one under Bartholomeus, and another under Nimech, which failed. A third adventure, under the three sons of a Spanish chief, succeeded. A vessel of sixty men and women escaped the fate of the rest, who perished in the waters, and peopled Ireland. c. 6 & 7.—From some peritissimi Scotorum he notices a wilder tradition, of a Spanish colony, whose chief had emigrated from Ægypt to Spain. c. 9.—3 Gale Script. pp. 100, 101.—The account of Nennius is valuable, for two reasons. It shews that in the ninth century the Irish derived themselves from Spain, when they had no motive but their own traditions, to do so; and that their traditions, though varying in other circumstances, centred in this idea. His first chapters also give us the original statement about Partholanus and Nimedh in all its primitive simplicity, without the addition of the incredible chronology which was afterwards added to it.

[152] Gesner, in his notes on the Argonautica, p. 431. says that Aristides, in his Ægypt. calls it the Great Island, *την αντιπεραν Ἰβηρων*, and says that in his age voyages were daily made to it from Cadiz.

[153] Flah. Ogyg. p. 63. who intimates that the Irish language was created anew at a school in the land of Shinar; and distinguished into the beurla feni, the lawyers' dialect;

and that Ollam Fodlah took the trouble, eight centuries before our Saviour, to make a society to inspect the genealogies and chronicles of Ireland, who composed therefrom the invisible register called the Psalter of Taragh[154]; yet it is certain that no Irish MS. has been found more ancient than the tenth century. The oldest and most authentic of the Irish records, the Annals of Ulster, of Innisfallen, and Tigernach, and the Psalter of Cashel, were written between the tenth and twelfth centuries[155]. The ancient historical poems are placed in the eleventh century, by Flaherty, who seems to have had more curiosity for the ancient literature of his country, than studious Irishmen have, at least publicly, exhibited[156].

The rational literary history of Ireland may be stated to begin with its conversion to Christianity by St. Patrick, in the fifth century[157]. That they had their bards, or harpers, before that period, cannot be doubted[158]. But there is no good evidence that Ireland had the use of letters anterior to St. Patrick. The

dialect; the beurla fele, the poetical dialect; the beurla tebide, the eclectic dialect; and the gnait beurla, the vulgar dialect. Ib.

[154] Beauford's Druidism revived in Vall. Collect. Hib. v. 2. p. 162.

[155] The Psalter of Cashel, a chronicle in the Irish language, was written by Cormac, king and archbishop of Cashel, who died 908. Few have seen this MS. though it was extant in Ware's time, Ant. Hib. c. 21. There are many extracts from it in an old but later work, containing both Latin and Irish, called Psalter Narran. Ware, ib.—The Annals of Innisfallen begin with the time of Oliol Olom, the heathen king of the two Munsters, who died 172 years before the arrival of St. Patrick. O'Connor's Dissert. 3 Coll. Hib. 237.—The Annals of Tigernach O'Broin, whose author died 1088, (Flah. 7.) begin with the building of Emania, six generations *before* the Christian æra. Connor, ib.—The Annals of Ulster have been printed by Johnstone, in his Celto-Normannicæ: they are brief and imperfect, but useful.

[156] Besides the three poems already noticed, Flaherty mentions the chronological poem written in Irish by Gilla-Coeman, in which, commencing ab initio rerum, he carries it down to his own times, in 1072. Og. p. 6. It begins—Annalad a nall, &c. "The Annals of ages brought from the beginning." Mr. Connor admits that Gilla-Coeman, and many other of the old Irish antiquaries, have fallen into mistakes and anachronisms, p. 243.

[157] St. Patrick was a North Britain, born at Nemthur, now Kirk Patrick, between Dumbarton and Glasgow, about 371. He went to Ireland about 432, and died there, 493, at the age of 122. Tanner Bibl. Monast. p. 579.

[158] Bede mentions an excellent poet, whom

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Its ancient state.

The Irish were a people of some importance before Patrick visited them. Ptolemy, in the second century, states, that Ireland had remarkable cities; and among the topographical names of its rivers and towns, which he penned down, we find some existing appellations, as Shannon (Sonos;) the Boyne (Bououinda;) and Dublin (Eblana)[159]. Another ancient geographer describes it as containing 16 provinces, or tribes, and 15 distinguished towns[160]. Ireland was, however, so little known to the ancients, or was so rude in its population, that the most extravagant accounts have been transmitted to us concerning it. Strabo remarks, that it was reported that the Irish were much wilder than the inhabitants of Britain, and eat human flesh, and even the dead bodies of their parents, and that they lived in promiscuous incest[161]. Diodorus mentions them only to state, that they devoured men[162]; which St. Jerom also notices[163]. It is not of much consequence to discuss how far these imputations were true, because we know of our own ancestors, the Saxons, that they are described by the ancients to have been peculiarly ferocious; and all nations, in their barbarous state, have been sufficiently atrocious. But it is proper to add, that Strabo fairly owns that he does not give his picture from the information of persons whom he considered worthy of credit; we may therefore interpret these vague rumours to mean only, that the ancient Irish were, like all the Northern parts

Patrick met in Themoria, named Dubtag, and a younger one, named Pheg. Op. v. 3. p. 320. Their bards seem to have pretended to sorcery, for one is mentioned in an ancient life, as poeta et magus, and as practising his magical art. Bolland. Feb. 119.

[159] Ptol. Geogr.

[160] Marcianus Heracleota.

[161] Strabo, Geog. l. 4. p. 307. ed.

[162] Diod. Sic. l. 5. p. 309. ed. Rhod.

[163] Jerom, in his treatise against Jovinus, says the Scoti in his time were ανθρωποφαγοι, atque in deliciis maxime habebant virorum quidem nates, mulierum ubera.—He asserts that when he was in Gaul, he saw Scoti eat human flesh.—Mela, praising their delicious pastures, speaks sourly of the inhabitants: "Cultores ejus inconditi sunt, et omnium virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes" l. 3. c. 6. p. 266. ed. Lug. Bat. 1722.

parts of Europe before the Christian era, wild and uncivilized, and very little known beyond their own coasts.

Its petty kingdoms.

As the ancient Irish were distinguished into many tribes, whose chiefs may have born the title of kings, Ireland may have once contained nineteen kingdoms[164]. But these at last became absorbed into five greater sovereignties, that long continued; Munster, Meath, Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught. The kingdom of Meath, although the smallest in extent, was distinguished among the rest for its venerated city Themoria, or Teagh-mor, the great mansion, the king of which is repeatedly declared, in the ancient authors, to have been supreme over the rest of the Island[165].

Their perpetual warfare.

War was the passion and the habit of the Irish. All their kings seem to have been perpetually engaged in murdering each other, and their subjects; and hence their personal supremacy was frequently varying. Thus Feighlim Reachtmhuir, king of Meath, who is described as a great legislator that governed all Ireland, was succeeded by his son Conn, who obtained the surname of Keud-Chathach, or of an hundred battles. And this incessant fighter fell himself in battle against Tybraide Tireach king of Ulster[166]. One chief collecting an army of followers to plunder or conquer another, is the great feature of all the ancient Irish history; which must have made the country, with all its advantages, differ little from the present state of New Zealand.

The

[164] Vallancey, from the ancient book called Leabhar na Geart, enumerates these kings and their respective tributes. Collect. Hib. vol. 1. p. 384—390.

[165] Bede, in his Life of St. Patrick, (Op. v. 3. p. 316.) calls Themoria the caput regni Scotorum; and many old writers so mention it. It is now no more. The place where it stood is now called Taragh. Coll. Hib. v. 3. p. 420.

[166] See the Lives of St. Ida and Brigida, written in the sixth century, ap. Bolland. Acta Sanctorum, Jan. and Feb.—So Iolland Mac Dunling, who died 506, is stated to have won between thirty and forty battles. Ib. p. 161.

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St. Patrick.

The generous self-devotion of St. Patrick introduced Christianity and christian literature into Ireland, in the fifth century. But it did not find a congenial soil there till the sixth, when a monastery, founded by St. Columba, occasioned the erection of many others by his disciples[167]; and then Ireland became distinguished in the West, for the attainments of her scholars, who in the eighth and ninth centuries even benefited England, and instructed Italy and France[168]. But this was a partial sunshine, that neither extended far, nor lasted long. In the ninth and following centuries, the Northmen from the Baltic effected by force various settlements, and made greater depredations on the sea-coast of Ireland, where her improvements chiefly lay[169]. England had now and then a transient communication with some of its kings[170]; but no permanent or beneficial intercourse took place; and Ireland continued its internal habits of bloodshed and violence, until they were suddenly interrupted by the English expeditions in the reign of Henry II.

State of Ireland, in the twelfth century.

At this period, the Irish are described as unlike other nations, in the nurture of their children: they did not nurse them elaborately, as was then usual elsewhere, but they left them to nature[171]. The Irish may be proud of the remark, though meant to be censorial, for their custom was wiser than the art they neglected[172]. Their state of society, and their manners, were barbarous.

[167] Bede Hist. l. 4. c. 4. p. 107.

[168] It is a circumstance flattering to the literary reputation of the Irish, that one of the most ancient Franco Theotisc poems, is a dialogue of moral aphorisms, between Tyrol a king of the Scoti, and his son; (see it in Schilter's Thesaurus, v. 2.) unless indeed Scotland might by the time of its composition rather claim the appellation. His title is Kunig von Schotten.

[169] See Snorre's History, Langebeck's Antiquitates Danicæ, and the Annals of Ulster, for the details of these attacks.

[170] Thus Lanfranc wrote letters to two Irish kings. See his Op. 318, 319.

[171] Non accurate, ut assolet, nutriuntur—fere cuncta naturæ relinquuntur. Giral. Top. Hib. l. 3. c. 10.

[172] Giraldus's notice of their omissions, will shew the barbarous modes of nursing then practised: "They did not adapt them to cradles, nor swathe them with bands, nor cherish their tender limbs in baths, nor compose them by art. Their midwives did not erect their noses, nor depress their faces, nor

barbarous. Their usual dress was black woollens. They used neither saddles, boots, nor spurs; their bridle was their bit. They despised armour, as burthensome and cowardly. They were dexterous in the use of the war-hatchet, and the stone[173]. They spurned agriculture, social wealth, and laws. They preferred the wild pastoral life of their woods and meadows; the companions of their cattle, and ranging rude and free as they did. Their hair and beards were left as nature chose to dilate them. They would neither use trade nor any mechanic art. They loved their life of savage indolence, and esteemed their barbarous freedom the summit of felicity[174]. But at all times full of genius, the Irish, even amidst this barbarism, excelled every other nation in the practice of music[175]: their instruments were the harp and the drum; the former with metal wires.

The conquest of Ireland in this reign reminds us of the successes of Europe against the rude tribes of America; it was the triumph of art over nature, of discipline over multitude. Henry had once speculated on an expedition to Ireland, and the only English pope that has sat in St. Peter's chair, gave his sanction to the enterprise. His aversion to war deferred its execution; and what the king did not presume to attempt, a few adventurers achieved, to his astonishment and to their own.

Its invasion from England.

Dermod the king of Leinster having tyrannized over his nobles, and carried away the wife of the king of Meath, a voluntary captive,

nor pull out their legs; but they left nature to fashion the limbs as she pleased." The consequence was, that the Irish were remarkable for tall and handsome bodies, and pleasing countenances. Girald. ib.

[173] Giraldus says, they guided their war-axe with their thumb on the handle so dexterously, as to cut off a knight's thigh on horseback, though it was fully covered with armour. Ib.

[174] Giraldus, ib.—Our Spenser's interesting little Dialogue on Ireland, shows that many of these features continued among the Irish in the time of queen Elizabeth.

[175] In quibus præ omni natione, quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa. Gir. c. 11. It is a Welshman who gives them this superiority.

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captive, the insulted husband called upon Roderic king of Connaught, the monarch of the whole island, to avenge him. The vindictive confederacy was formed, and Dermod fled before the storm[176]. He went to Henry, who was then in Aquitain, and besought his aid. The English sovereign received him graciously, and gave him letters under his sign manual, authorizing any of his various subjects who chose, to assist the Irish chieftain in his restoration. With these letters, Dermod sailed to Bristol, made their contents public, and promised liberally both lands and money to every one that would aid him. But his offers were long announced in vain, till Richard, surnamed Strongbow, the earl of Strigul, was tempted to interfere. Dermod promised to the earl, his daughter, and the succession to his kingdom; and Strongbow pledged himself in the ensuing spring to attempt the enterprise. To be near the scene of action in the meantime, Dermod went into Wales, and there found another adventurer, Robert Fitz Stephens, who was willing to engage with him. The city of Wexford, and two adjoining cantreds, were to be the reward of the Welshman's valour[177]. Fitz Stephens collected, from his relations and neighbours, 130 knights, 60 coats of mail, and 300 foot-archers, and in May sailed with these, in three ships, to a little island on the Wexford coast. They were joined the next day by another party, of ten knights, and several archers. Dermod added 500 Irish partisans, whom the news of his return had collected.

Successes of the adventurers.

With this force, the invaders proceeded against Wexford. About 2,000 Irish came out of the city to oppose them; but, seeing their array of battle, their armed cavalry, and shining helms and shields, they were intimidated by these novelties, retired in a panic, set fire to their suburbs, and tried to defend their

[176] Giral. Hibern. expugn. c. 1. p. 760. [177] Ib. c. 2.

their walls. The too eager and disorderly assault of the Welshmen, on the first day, was repulsed. But the citizens, dreading a second, yielded up the city; and Fitz Stephens and his friends had the stipulated remuneration of large tracts of land between Wexford and Waterford[178]. From this town they proceeded to a more important attempt, against the king of Ossory, who had been peculiarly active against Dermod. Their woods and marshes at first protected the Irish; but being drawn into the plain, the English cavalry soon routed and destroyed them; and 200 heads were laid before the feet of Dermod, we will presume by his Irish friends, as the Turkish custom does not seem to have prevailed in England. The wild Irishman leapt up three times into the air with excess of joy, and seizing hold of one of the heads, the head of a man who had been particularly offensive to him, by its ears and hair, he carried it eagerly to his mouth, and furiously bit off its nose and lips[179]: an expressive indication of the degree of civilization to which Ireland had attained.

The submission of the province was the consequence of this victory. But it spread an alarm over all the island, and the king of Connaught, as the supreme monarch, convoked all the other chieftains. Their deliberations were rapid, and their decision unanimous: they rose in arms, to expel the rash invaders and their friend.

This general movement deprived Dermod of all his partisans, and Fitz Stephens was alarmed at the mass of hostility that was approaching him. But his prudence was equal to his bravery. He retired immediately to a well chosen spot near Ferns, on a rugged hill, surrounded with bog and water, and covered with a thick wood. He increased its natural inaccessibility, by digging pits

[178] Gir. Hib. c. 3. He settled here a colony from England; the first English settlers in Ireland.

[179] Ib. c. 4. p. 763.

pits and ditches in every line of approach, and by obstructing the narrow and secret paths by trees cut down and strongly interlaced. The strength of his position baffled the Irish monarch: he was obliged to sue for peace; and to obtain it, agreed that Dermod should be reinstated in Leinster, acknowledging himself to be the supreme insular sovereign, and leaving a natural son as the hostage of his subordination, who was in time to be wedded to Roderic's daughter[180].

Scarcely was Dermod thus re-established, when Maurice, a brother of Fitz Stephens, arrived with 10 knights, 30 squires, and about 100 foot archers. Dublin had not yet submitted to Dermod, and he requested the brothers to attack it. Their assault was successful[181].

As the Irish kings were never long at peace with each other, the king of Connaught was soon in warfare with the king of Limeric. Dermod seized the moment to beat down his supreme monarch, and persuaded Fitz Stephens to assist the king of Limeric. The Welshman acquiesced, and Roderic experienced a severe defeat[182].

The ambition of Dermod was now excited, and he avowed to Fitz Stephens and his brother, his wish to make himself the monarch of Ireland, the proud title which Roderic had so long enjoyed. Fitz Stephens told him the project was easy to be accomplished, if more English allies would join them. A pressing invitation was after this consultation sent to Strongbow, to hasten his intended expedition. The earl determined to go and partake the booty. He applied to Henry for permission, and received it with a sneer at his lofty expectations. But, satisfied from Fitz Stephens' experiment, with what certainty they might be realized, he began his preparations;

[180] Gir. Hib. c. 5.—c. 10. [181] Ibid. c. 11. [182] Ibid. c. 11.

preparations; and during the winter, sent off Raymond, a youth of his family, with only 10 knights and 70 archers[183]. Nothing can more forcibly imply the uncivilized state of the island, than the success of this little band, which reminds us of the battles between Cortes and the Mexicans. These last invaders landed on a rock four miles below Wexford, and strengthened their position badly enough by twigs and turf. The citizens of Waterford came out with 3,000 men, to destroy them. Raymond advanced to meet them, but was soon driven into his feeble station, and there endured all the fury of the assault. Such, however, was the superiority of his followers in all the exercises of battle, that the 80 Englishmen defeated the 3,000 assailants, slew above 800, and precipitated many into the sea. Giraldus says, such a victory was unheard of before[184]. It can only be explained by the rude state of the natives. According to his former description, they were but naked savages, fighting with lances and hatchets and stones, and therefore were powerless before men armed at all points, and well practised in the manual exercises of the sword and shield.

Strongbow soon followed with 200 knights and 1,000 others. This diminutive force took Waterford and Dublin, and Dermod became king of Leinster. Their successes alarmed Henry into the publication of an edict, forbidding more adventurers to go, and commanding the victors to return[185].

1172. It submits to Henry.

Henry at last determined to visit Ireland himself. He went thither with a respectable army. Its remaining kings willingly submitted, and eagerly paid him their court[186]. He garrisoned the

[183] Gir. Hib. c. 12.

[184] Ib. c. 13. Giraldus was in Ireland a few years after these battles.

[185] Ib. c. 16. & 17. Strongbow married Dermod's daughter. The Norwegians afterwards assisted the Irish, but unavailingly. c. 22. Hoveden, 599.

[186] Girald. c. 30—c. 34.

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the principal towns, and returned to England, well satisfied with his easy and important acquisition[187].

The last sixteen years of Henry's life were embittered by the hostilities of his children. His infidelity to his queen aroused in her bosom a spirit of revenge[188], and she stimulated them to conspire to dethrone their father. He punished her by a long imprisonment. But he lost the respect and affection of his three eldest sons, who espoused her resentments, and an unnatural warfare followed.

Characters of Henry's sons.

The characters and conduct of these princes show the merits and the defects of the chivalric spirit, with which they were fully animated. Henry, the eldest, was mild, affable and courteous; more prone to pardon than to punish, and who thought he had lost a day, in which he had not gratified some one by his liberality. But in war, as soon as the helmet was closed upon his head, he was fiercer and more savage than the wildest beast. His single, supreme and perpetual wish, was to display his martial spirit and ability[189]. His brother Richard rivalled him in courage, generosity and

[187] On the Irish Chronicles I may remark, that the Annales Ultonienses, in the British Museum, Harl. No. 4795. have this date and circumstance: "An. 438, the Great Chronicle was written." That the clergy introduced by St. Patrick, would begin to compose annals, is not improbable. It is a pity that Ireland has not been carefully searched for her old chronicles and remains. The evil that has pursued her antiquities, is, that the writers who have known her language, have wanted critical knowledge; and those who have had the true spirit of criticism, have been ignorant of her language. I observe that Stanyhurst, who wrote a treatise de Rebus in Hibernia gestis, and whom Stephanius calls a most elegant writer (in Sax. p. 99.) remarks, that in his time, 1584, the Irish had, and read, ancient manuscripts, which they highly valued. "Lectitant—pervetustas, et fumosas membranulas, multis lituris interpunctas, Hibernice scriptas, quas in ore et amore mirifice habent." l. 1. p. 44.

[188] The tale of the vindictive Eleanor presenting to the frail Rosamund the cup of poison and the dagger, is only a ballad tradition; yet Bromton mentions, that the king made her a labyrinthine residence at Woodstock, that the queen might not easily surprise her. He gives the punning epitaph on her tomb at Godstow, near Oxford, p. 1151. Henry imprisoned his queen, and kept her twelve years in confinement. Gervase, 1432. 1475.

[189] Giraldus Topog. Hib. p. 752. He was so completely chivalrous, that he travelled for three years in France an errant knight, engaging in many conflicts, merely to prove his prowess. Matt. Paris, p. 136.

and magnanimity, but could not attain his courtly graces. Stern, severe, grave and immoveable, his word was as inflexible as his soul. Furious and unsparing in war, he was often characterized by his cruelty, and was dreaded, while Henry was loved. Geoffry had the warlike qualities of his brothers, but was more astute, contriving, eloquent, and hypocritical. To his father, he was always rebellious and ungrateful, and eagerly combined with Henry and Richard to throw down their parent from his throne[190].

They attack him.

The old king having already admitted Henry to a participation of the royal dignity, was severely afflicted and endangered by his child's ingratitude. The king of France fed the discord. The young king formed an extensive confederacy, and Henry became surrounded with hostility. The French king, with some of his great feudatories, invaded Normandy; Richard raised the standard of revolt in Guienne; and Geoffry in Bretagne. The king of Scotland advanced into the northern counties of England, destroying all he met. The earl of Leicester, with a great force of foreign mercenaries, landed in Suffolk; while the young Henry collected another army in France, to co-operate with Leicester. The king's lands and castles were every where plundered or taken. But he procured twenty thousand foreigners, and made a vigorous resistance. Gradually, all his enemies were driven from the field; and the Scotch, with a loss of men that compelled their king to become a feudatory of the English sovereign, for Scotland itself[191].

Death of his eldest son.

Some years afterwards, the dissensions between Henry and his sons

[190] Girald. Topog. Hib. p. 753.—Gervase describes a partial eclipse of the sun in 1178, which gave it sometimes the appearance of a crescent, as the shade passed over it. This is usual; but he adds, that a curious natural phenomenon accompanied it: the air in various places appeared differently tinged with the colours, red, saffron, green, &c. p. 1445.

[191] Hoveden, 531—539. Rad. Dic. 570—583. Haile's Annals of Scotland, v. 1. p. 113—117.

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sons were renewed. He had indiscreetly raised them to honours and power, before they had ceased to be children; and they quarrelled with each other, as well as with their father[192]. The unnatural disputes were for a time suspended by the death of the eldest, Henry, who had been made king[193]. Vexation at discovering his inability to dethrone his father, brought on a disease. On his death bed he solicited his parent's presence and forgiveness. His tears of penitence had so often proved to be new treacheries, that Henry dared not visit him. The dying prince, now alarmed into compunction for his filial ingratitude, sought by a momentary penance to assuage his own terrors, and to influence futurity. He had his elegant clothing changed for sackcloth, and was then by his own command dragged, by a rope round his neck, from his bed to a heap of ashes, on which he expired[194].

1183.

The discord continues.

Of the surviving sons, Richard and Geoffry still bickered with their father. But Geoffry perishing under the horses feet at a tournament at Paris[195], the subjects of discord were diminished. Yet the natural impetuosity of Richard's temper, and the political jealousies and occasional hostilities of Philip the king of France, kept Henry in a state of constant irritation and disquiet. A more discreditable cause justly added new torments. Philip's sister, Alice, was betrothed to Richard; but his father chose to keep her from

[192] Hoveden, 618—620.

[193] Hence Wace says, he had seen three king Henrys—

Treis reïs Henris ai concuz,
En Normandie toz veux;
D'Engleterre e de Normendie
Orent tout treis la seignorie.
Le segont Henri qi co di
Fu nies al primerain Henri,
Ne de Makelt l'emperiris:
E li tierz fu al segont filz.

Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[194] Hoveden, 620. That princes in these days did not want flatterers, appears from the Latin quatrain on this prince, making him at once Cæsar, Hector, Achilles, and Augustus. Brompton, 1143.—Henry contracted a marriage between his son John and the daughter of the count of Maurienne (Savoy) called also marquis of Italy, who was to leave all his dominions to them, if he had no son; if he had a son, they were to have only Roussillon, Turin, the Novalese, and some other places. Rymer, 1. p. 33.

[195] Hoveden, 631.

from his son, perpetually delaying their nuptials, till Richard himself disdained them. The worst suspicions of sensual depravity intended, if not executed, were attached to the procrastination[196], and all love and reverence for the sovereign proportionably declined.

Henry undertakes the crusade.

The danger of the little Christian kingdom in Palestine, from the victories of Saladin, had disposed Henry to undertake a crusade. The king of Jerusalem sent his patriarch to England to solicit him, and the Pope added his exhortations[197]. But Henry lingered till Europe was electrified with the news, that Saladin had taken the venerated city[198]. The Pope, already in years, died of grief on the intelligence[199], and kindred feelings of regret and indignation re-animated all Christendom. The veteran German emperor marched his bravest knights towards Asia[200]. Henry and Philip agreed to follow; but the English sovereign was first compelled, by the union and warfare of Philip and Richard, to submit to allow that all his subjects both in England and France should swear fealty to Richard.

1187.

His death, 1189.

This diminution of his personal dignity and power corroded his mind, and shook his health. But when he learnt that his darling son John had even leagued with his enemies against him, his fortitude

[196] Bromton Chron. p. 1151.

[197] Hoveden, 628. Gervase, 1474.

[198] The Master of the Templars' letter to Henry, on this event, mentions that Saladin caused the cross to be taken from the temple at Jerusalem, and to be dragged and bastinadoed through the city for two days: That he had all the temple, both within and without, bathed with rose-water, to purify it, and the Koran to be proclaimed in triumph upon it, on its four sides. Hoveden, 646.

[199] Gervase, 1510.

[200] He wrote first a letter of defiance to Saladin, preserved in Hoveden, 650. It is too vaunting and declamatory for a veteran soldier, who had fought in twenty Italian campaigns, and for the most part with success. Its most curious passage is that which contains his imperial majesty's character of the different nations of Europe, at that time: The tall Bavarian—The crafty Swede—Wary France—Provident and ingenious England—Saxony sporting with the sword—Agile Brabant—Lorraine unacquainted with peace—Unquiet Burgundy—Friesland excelling in the sling—Bohemia fiercer than its wild beasts—The Pilot Pisan.

fortitude forsook him. In a fit of disgraceful passion, he bitterly cursed his children with imprecations which he could not be persuaded to retract. He did not long survive his maledictions. A fever attacked him at Chinon, of which he soon expired[201]; and although at one time so respected, that two Spanish sovereigns had submitted their differences to his arbitration[202], that a Mahomedan prince had sought his friendship[203], and that the kingdom of Jerusalem had been offered him[204], yet in his last moments he had not the consolation of experiencing even the attachment of his domestics. The breath of life had scarcely left his frame, before his body was stripped and left naked, and exposed in the church where he died. The greatest men are liable to this desertion; but it always proves, that the private manners or conduct of the prince have excited no personal regard[205].

[201] Hoved. 654. He was only 56 years old. He was surnamed Curt-mantell, because he introduced short mantles from Anjou into England. Bromton, p. 1150.

[202] The dispute between Alphonso king of Castile, who had married Henry's daughter, and Sancho king of Navarre; and the official papers concerning it; are in Hoveden, 561—565.

[203] It was the king of Valentia and Murcia who sent him great presents in gold and silk, horses and camels. Chron. Norman. 998.

[204] Matt. Paris, 142.

[205] In the Sirventes of Bertrand du Born, a viscount in Perigord, and a Troubadour, we have several allusions to the quarrels of Henry and his children. He was one of the lords who united with young Henry against Richard; and in a poem (1 Hist. Lit. des Troub. 217.) he describes the combination. On Richard's reconciliation with his brother, the disappointed Troubadour published another Sirvente, satirizing Henry as well as Richard, and wishing their brother Geoffry had been the eldest. Ib. p. 220. Richard, in resentment, besieged his castle, and took it. The Troubadour imploring his conqueror's clemency, was forgiven. His Muse now took another flight. He composed a warm panegyric on Richard. In this, he says, "If Richard will grant me his favour, I will devote myself to serve him, and my attachment shall be as pure as the finest silver. His dignity ought to make him resemble the sea, which seems desirous to retain every thing that is cast into its bosom, but which soon throws it back to the shore. So great a baron ought to restore what he has taken from a vassal, who humbles himself." p. 221. Richard magnanimously listened to the advice, and gave him back his castle.—When the princes again warred with their father, this poetical seigneur joined them. The death of young Henry again disconcerted him, and he wrote an eulogy upon him; in which, after praising his personal accomplishments, he particularly extols the order and magnificence of his house: "We were always welcomed there,

there, and always found good cheer, and great company; feasts and diversions were there without ceasing. Amiable prince! if you had lived longer, you would have been le roi des courtois et l'empereur des preux." Ib. p. 224.—Henry, to punish the auxiliary of his seditious children, advanced against him. Bertrand was soon taken and led to the king, who sarcastically reproached him for boasting That he had more wit than he wanted. "I had a right to say so once," exclaimed the Troubadour, "but in losing the young king, your son, I have lost all the understanding and talents that I possessed." Henry burst into tears at the name of his son: "Ah, Bertrand! unfortunate Bertrand!" cried he, "you may have well lost your understanding in losing my son, for he loved you tenderly. For his sake I restore to you your liberty, your property, and your castle, and offer you my friendship." Bertrand fell at his feet, and vowed an inviolable attachment. pp. 226, 227.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. X.

REVIEW OF THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES, TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY II.

CHAP. X.

AS the history of the Crusades becomes interwoven with the history of England, in the reign of Richard I. whose celebrity was chiefly earned on the plains of Palestine, a review of their origin and leading incidents will properly precede his accession.

Military spirit of Mahomedanism.

From the time that Mahomedanism[1] established itself in Asia, it was obvious that it would never cease to struggle for the empire of the world, while its spirit was upheld by its power. To be propagated by the sword, was a vital principle imposed upon its votaries[2], which became doubly hallowed and perpetuated by success.

[1] The commencement of the Hegira, or Mahomedan æra, has been variously computed. I adopt the date inserted in the Annals of Abulfeda, edited by Reiske,—the year 622; which Mr. Gibbon has also followed.

[2] The ninth chapter of the Koran is urgent on this point:—"Fight against them who believe not in God, nor the last day—Unless ye go forth when ye are summoned to war, God will punish you with a grievous punishment—Go forth to battle, and employ your substance and your persons for the advancement of God's religion.—O, prophet, wage war against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be severe unto them—O, true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you."—Sale's Koran, pp. 152. 154. 155. 158. 166. Similar exhortations abound in the other chapters.

success. Within thirty years it subdued and appropriated Syria, Persia, and Egypt[3]. The north of Africa, to its western extremity, soon yielded to its sway; and from that quarter it rushed over Spain, and repeatedly attempted France. Turning upon Italy, it entered the kingdom of Naples and Genoa, endangered Rome, and conquered Sicily. Africa marshalled her northern population under its banners, and frequently poured her myriads to uphold it in Spain and the Mediterranean isles. Constantinople, the eastern barrier against its progress into Germany, had been insulted and besieged by its enthusiastic hordes. Mahomedanism thus hung over Europe like its evil genius, ready to take advantage of every favouring circumstance to plant the Crescent and the Koran in the only regions of the world, beyond its own precincts, which knowledge and intellect were likely to germinate; but which were then too barbarous in some parts to care what religion they adopted, and too feeble in others to have presented an effective resistance.

Its internal dissensions.

But one great peculiarity pursued the Arabian conquerors through all their successes, undermined their most established power, and finally deprived their faith of the empire of the world—this was a spirit of civil turbulence, of local independence, and party discord. Their caliphs, though despotic while popular, they frequently disobeyed, attacked and murdered, even while they acknowledged

[3] Syria was conquered by the year 638, Egypt in the same year, and Persia by 651. It is interesting to read the Oriental accounts of these surprising successes. Ockley has given the substance of the Arabian, Alwakidi's narrative of them, with additions from Abul-Pharagius and others, in the first volume of his History of the Saracens.—Major Price has detailed their Syrian and Persian conquests, from the Persian authorities of the Rouzut Ussuffa, the Kholauset ul Akhbaur, and the Habeib Usseyr, in his Mahomedan History, v. 1. p. 59—232. Collaterally with these, Mr. Gibbon's fifty-first chapter may be profitably perused.—Of Major Price's authorities, the first is the most esteemed history in the Persian language: its author the celebrated Mahomed Mir Khavund (Mirkhond) who died in Khorasan 1497. The two last were written by Khondemir, about 1498 and 1501.

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acknowledged the sacredness of their office[4]. Whenever they triumphed, they usually broke into factions, who rushed eagerly to mutual bloodshed. Two caliphates were established in Africa and Spain, independent of the ancient sovereignty in Asia; and the Spanish dignity was soon divided into many rival kingdoms[5], warring with each other, and with Africa, almost as unquiet. The same constitutional evil checked and weakened them in Sicily. And in the tenth century, the Saracen empire had become so debilitated by its divisions, that some of the Greek emperors recovered the command of Asia Minor, and pushed their legions to Antioch and Armenia[6]. Christianity was now released from its dread and danger, and Islamism began to wane. These factions arose not from the spirit of national freedom, but from that individual turbulence which was inseparable from the Arab mind. Their armies were the associations of voluntary adventurers, and their caliphs were their Imauns[7]. Zeal for the propagation of their faith, supplied in their expeditions all the military subordination that was necessary for their success; but the conquest effected, the principle of submission ceased; the warlike mass resolved into its independent elements; their natural volatility returned, and with that the spirit of anarchy and contentious rivalry, which they had no ancient or established institutions to amuse or to coerce. Their population was not regimented under a baronial aristocracy, sharing the legislative power in parliaments coeval with their origin; they had no ancient laws controlling their monarch as well as his people;

[4] The seditions began in the reign of Othman, the third caliph, who reigned after Mahomed. He was murdered in an insurrection; and from that time few caliphs had a tranquil reign or natural death.

[5] Cardonne remarks, that there became as many kings as governors in Spain:—Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Jaen, Lisbon, Tortosa, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, and Denia, had each their own sovereign. v. 1. p. 156.

[6] Gibbon, v. 5. p. 658.

[7] The Arabian Caliphate was not hereditary. Its first caliphs were chosen by the two sacred cities, or, more strictly, by the companions of Mohamed's flight, and his protectors in his exile. Price, vol. 1. p. 205.

people; they had no chain of descending rank and gradationary subordination, satisfying vanity by its distinctions, training the multitude to civil subjection, and preserving national strength by public cohesion and habitual submission. Among the Arabs, all below the caliph were equal, independent, restless, dissatisfied and insubordinate; and their prosperity fluctuated as their unanimity disappeared.

Rise of the Turks in Siberia.

In this declining condition, a race of people arose to become the patrons of the Mahomedan faith, most formidable for their exhaustless numbers, their barbarism, their activity, their valour, and their success—more formidable still, for the steady, social unity and obedience to their chief, and for that persevering gravity and inflexibility which have never abandoned their character. These were the Turks, a Tartarian nation, who, after acquiring the empire of Asia, emerged from their deserts and mountains, to become the antagonists of Christianity and Europe. In the sixth century, they were an obscure tribe, slaves to the Georgian nation, and forging for its khan, among the mountains of Imaus, or Kaf, in Siberia, his instruments of war. One of their aspiring spirits roused them to shake off their servitude. He was made their leader. Under him they defeated their masters, established their independence, reduced the neighbouring tribes into subjection to his power, obtained the princess of China for his wife, and spread over Tartary the new empire of the Turks. So irresistible were their arms, that in less than a century all the tribes of Tartary, from Kamschatka and China to the Mæotis, became obedient to their sway[8]. This extensive empire was too ample, and too new, to remain long under one head. Of their succeeding revolutions, we know little till the tenth century. By that time we find that one of

[8] Mr. Gibbon has ably selected the principal facts of the early history of the Turks, in his 42d, 55th, and 57th chapters.

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of their branches, the Hungarians, had entered Europe; and the desolations which they spread over its most cultivated regions, from 900 to 955, have been already noticed. The abilities of Henry, and his son Otho the Great, checked them on the Danube. But their main body soon rose to renewed celebrity and power in the eastern quarter of the globe.

Their kingdom in Persia and India.

At the close of the tenth century they had established a kingdom, that of Gazna, in the eastern provinces of Persia. A sovereign here acceded, Mahmud the Gaznevide, for whom the title of Sultan was first invented, who displayed the Turkish name in terror and victory to the inhabitants of the East. In twelve expeditions to Hindustan, he beat down the Indian powers, took Delhi, Lahor and Moultan, and enlarged his kingdom from Transoxiana to Ispahan, from the Caspian to the Indus[9].

They adopt Islamism.

The great body of the Turkish nation were then inhabiting both sides of the Caspian. The eastern division joined the enterprising Mahmud, and assisted in his exploits, but rebelled against his son. They defeated the Gaznevide dynasty, possessed themselves of its dominions, conquered Persia, and chose Togrul Bey their king. He completed the subjection of all the territory to the Indus, and added Media[10]. But he produced or admitted a revolution still more momentous to the mind and fortunes of mankind. Under his reign the great Turkish nation adopted the religion of Mohammed; and professing it with all the energy of their native character, and all the zeal of recent converts, they became

[9] Gibbon, c. 57. Price has given the history of Mahmud from Khondemir; and Dow, from Feristah's Persian History of India. Feristah published it in 1609. He was employed for twenty years in its composition. I wish the tenth book, on the history of Cashmire, were translated; as the Hindu religion has been supposed to have originated there: "every river, hill, and fountain, being sacred to some deity." Stewart's Catal. of the Library of Tippoo Sultan, p. 12.

[10] Gibbon, vol. 5. c. 57. D'Herbelot has given a sketch of the life of Togrul Bey, from the Eastern writers, p. 1027. fol. ed.

became its tremendous champions at that precise æra when it was losing its hold on the human intellect, and but for their support might have quietly expired.

Alp Arslan's empire.

On the death of Togrul Bey in 1063, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to his throne[11], and to the command of all the Turks from the Tigris to Hindustan. To attack the Christian kingdoms was one of the first objects of his ambition. He overran their eastern territories, and 130,000 Christians fell the victims of his fury[12]. He not only defeated the Greek emperor, but took him prisoner. The conquest of Armenia and Georgia increased the solidity as well as the extent of his power; and at the period of his death, "the fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws. Twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne, and 200,000 soldiers marched under his banners[13]."

His son Malek Shah, 1072—1082.

Perishing under the attack of an assassin whom he dared and despised[14], his son Malek Shah succeeded to his sceptre, and amplified his power from China to Constantinople. The most important regions of Asia became subject to his sway[15], and his armies were swelled by their abundant population. On his death in 1082, this mighty empire, on the feuds of his descendants, became divided into the Supreme Turkish kingdom, whose immediate seat was in Persia; and three subordinate kingdoms acknowledging

[11] See D'Herbelot's copious Life of Alp Arslan, p. 102. Price has translated Khondemir's account, vol. 2. p. 348.

[12] Gibbon, vol. 5. c. 57. p. 659.

[13] Gibbon, v. 5. p. 666.

[14] The dying sentiments of Alp Arslan, as narrated by Elmacin, are remarkable: "I never fought with any one before, till I had implored the Divine aid. But yesterday, when I ascended the hill to review my troops, and felt the earth tremble under me from the movement of their innumerable feet, I exclaimed in my pride, That it was I who was the King of the World, nor was there any one who dared to attack me. I forgot the power of the Most High, and I implore his pardon for my guilty arrogance. Elmacin. Hist. Sarac. l. 3. p. 278.

[15] "From the Chinese frontier he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the West and South, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix." Gibbon, vol. 5. p. 669.

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ledging the superior dignity of the chief—Kerman on the Indian frontier—Syria on the Mediterranean—and Roum, that embraced all Asia Minor and the contiguous provinces, and spread into Syria[16].

The operations of these two Turkish kingdoms of Syria and Roum, and especially of the latter, became the immediate causes of the Crusades.

Turkish holy war against the Christians.

One of the descendants of Seljuk, the venerated ancestor of this Turkish dynasty, had raised an army against Malek Shah. This powerful and prudent prince proposed an amicable arrangement: "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in an holy war against the Greeks—the enemies of God and his apostle[17]." The Grecians had survived the storm of Arabian enthusiasm; they had now to endure the fiercer and ultimately fatal assaults of a Turkish crusade.

Soliman's conquests from them.

The exhortations of Malek Shah, were successful. Soliman, the eldest of the turbulent princes, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroun to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West[18]. His conquests were as rapid as his enthusiasm was ardent. They soon absorbed Celosyria, Cilicia, Isauria, Pamphylia, Lycia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia,

[16] Gibbon, vol. 5. p. 672.

[17] Gibb. p. 673. From Azzedin's Arabic History of the Atabek princes of Syria, a MS. in the royal library at Paris, written in the thirteenth century, M. de Guignes narrates of Malek Shah—"His empire was of immense extent; the Khothba, or public prayers, were made under his name from China to Greece. He was a prince of mild and generous disposition towards his enemies. He ordered cisterns to be made in the wildernesses on the way to Mecca, for the use of the pilgrims; he opened channels in different places; and constructed a college near the tomb of Imam Abachanifa, a sumptuous mosque at Bagdad, a minaret in the environs of Koufa, and another at Samarcand." Account of the MSS. in the Library of the King of France, vol. 2. p. 425. Engl. Transl.

[18] Gibbon, vol. 5. p. 673. I refer to Mr. Gibbon as the most unsuspicious authority on this subject.

Galatia, Pontus, Bithynia, and the rest of Asia Minor[19]. All these provinces, by the year 1084, he had consolidated into a Turkish kingdom, called the kingdom of Roum, which is described as extending from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, having Nice its capital[20]. Such perilous successes brought them to the full front of Constantinople itself, with an enthusiasm emboldened by success, and panting for new triumphs. The unknown regions of the West were indeed before them; and the Grecian emperor was in such alarm, that he sent urgent letters to all the princes of Europe, even so low down as the count of Flanders, to assist him and their common Christianity in this dangerous crisis[21].

Danger of Christianity.

If the princes of the West had not been stimulated to oppose their united forces to this aggression, the same valour and strength which had then conquered Asia Minor, and led the Turks to the Hellespont, would have soon conducted them into the heart of Europe: and the fatal consequences of such success, to human happiness, may be easily anticipated.

The Turks, though possessed of many hardy virtues which benefited depraved Asia, have had not only a hatred to Christianity, which the lapse of centuries has not lessened, but also an aversion to knowledge, which has always precluded their national improvement. The Eastern distich which characterized them in their own language some centuries ago, is still descriptive both of their public character and individual spirit: "Though a Turk should excel in every science, he will always be a barbarian in

[19] William of Tyre, p. 635. His valuable History of the Crusades is published in the Gesta Dei, per Frances, and is allowed to contain the most intelligent and authentic account of the first crusades. He was born at Jerusalem.

[20] Gibbon, vol. 5. p. 675. Will. Tyre says, that if the Turks had had ships, they must have taken Constantinople, p. 636.

[21] Guibertus Abbas, who lived at the period, has inserted, in his Historia Hierosolymitana, the substance of the emperor's letter to the count of Flanders, p. 475.

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in his nature[22]." But science they have never valued; the barbarian has never disappeared; and therefore, if they had overwhelmed Europe, the hope of human improvement would have expired in their triumphs.

The danger of this catastrophe was peculiarly great, from the political state of Europe in the twelfth century. Divided and subdivided among princes and inferior chieftains, who were alienated by mutual jealousies, ancient rivality, and reciprocal injuries; ignorant of the principles of national welfare; and rarely coalescing, and never constant in their unions—the military strength of Europe was usually wasted in the private warfare of the great, and in their proud insubordination and frequent defiance to their sovereign. When their feudal obligation compelled them to the field under his banner, forty days service, effective only for plunder and cursory devastation, was all the martial exertion that their liege lord could command; their longer stay was to be purchased by his bounty, and was precarious and irregular, both from their own humour and his necessities. Amid so many turbulent competitors for distinction and power, some were ready to unite with every invader. A dissatisfied prince invited the Hungarians into Germany, as a vindictive noble had introduced the Arabs into Spain. Mutual jealousy and selfish speculations, in all ages, assist the progress of invaders against countries divided among many chiefs. The force of Christian Europe diminished by these causes, it will seem probable, when we

[22] D'Herbelot, p. 898. voc. Turk. gives this from a Turkish distich. The Persians have several satiric stanzas upon them—"Though a Turk should be a doctor of the Mussulman law, we may always kill him without a scruple." And their celebrated Hafiz exclaims, on a calamity which he is describing—"It takes patience from our hearts and repose from our minds, with as much violence as a Turk or a beggar snatches the victuals from a well-set table." Ib. The Persian poets, however, pay the compliment to their persons, of using the word Turk to signify a well-made young man. Ib.

we contemplate the extent of the Turkish empire in the eleventh century, commanding the world, from the Hellespont to the Indus—its unity of principle, its fanatical energy, its physical resources, and its actual achievements—that if its military population had not been engaged and consumed on the plains of Palestine, the dismayed world would have beheld the Turkish Crescent towering in the heart of Europe, in the twelfth century, as it did in the sixteenth; but without meeting that augmented power of opposition which the national improvements of four centuries had by that time provided. Yet, notwithstanding these, it beleaguered Vienna, and might have taken it so recently as 1683, if the avarice of the Turkish vizier had not withheld his troops from storming it, when the exhausted debility of the besieged could not have resisted their attack[23].

Averted by the crusades.

By arresting the progress of the Turks, and protracting their entry into Europe, which at last they forced, until its various states had grown up into compacted kingdoms; until the feudal system had been substantially overthrown; until polity had began to be a science, and that order of men whom we both venerate and revile, statesmen and politicians, had every where arisen; the Crusades preserved Europe from Turkish desolation, if not from conquest. And when the Ottoman power, recovering from its alarms by their discontinuance, arose in renovated vigour to a new attack; though it conquered Greece, overran Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia, attempted Russia and Poland, and endangered Vienna; yet the rest of Europe had then

[23] Beregani, a noble Venetian, in his well-written Historia delle Guerre d'Europa, from 1683, describes ably this celebrated siege of Vienna in this year. He remarks, "Ed e infallibile, che se nel fervore del campo, il primo Visire ordinava l'assalto, in tempo che diminuito e costernato il presidio, era la citta sfasciata di mura; restava la piazza miserabile preda dell' Ottomana barbarice: Ma l'avaritia del capitano la preservo a Cesare e a Christo." p. 54.

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then become prepared to resist its further progress, and has hitherto successfully kept it at bay, notwithstanding its mighty population and desperate fanaticism, until its political inferiority has become decided, and its period of decrepitude appears to be arriving.

That a Turkish crusade was about to assault the eastern frontier of Europe, when the Christian crusade commenced, has not been sufficiently remarked. But that, for its effective counteraction, so ardent and so immediate a union of mind among a body so disjointed and discordant as the kings of Europe, for an object so remote and difficult, and then so little affecting their personal interests, should yet arise at the precise period when it was most important to Christianity, is a concurrence of an evil, and its remedy, which must arrest the attention and excite the meditation of the impartial philosopher.

Causes and motives of the Crusades;

The motives which engaged Christian Europe in this momentous warfare were, as the motives always will be that actuate an immense body of men, multiform and mixed. Love of novelty, love of plunder, love of warfare, a passion for the wonderful, stimulated many. But the four great principles on which the Pope, and Peter the Hermit, founded their appeal, and which appear to have been the main operating springs to the enterprise, were — The political necessity[24] of resisting the progressive conquests of the Mahomedans—the evil of their own warlike conflicts—the sufferings and insults which all the Asiatic Christians, as well as the unoffending pilgrims, were made to endure from Turkish

[24] Urban in his speech, which Malmsbury details as he heard it from those present at its delivery, reminded the assembled people, That the Turks were occupying Syria, Armenia, and all Asia Minor, and were overrunning Illyricum; that they and the Saracens also held Africa, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, and were devouring the rest of Europe in expectation. He exhorts his hearers to undertake the expedition, that at least in these regions the Christians might live at peace. Malm. pp. 131, 132.

Turkish brutality—and the shame and dishonour of leaving the tomb of their Saviour in the possession of his fierce and implacable enemies[25]. The two first topics were appeals to their reason; the the two last, to their sensibility. The reflective and the foreseeing, obeyed the impulse of their heads; the multitude surrendered themselves with an astonishing enthusiasm, to the emotions of their hearts. Now that the dangers have passed with which they were menaced, and that the scenes have changed in which they were acting, we may with sarcastic complacency deride their credulity, or declaim against their zeal. But, when we recollect the certain privations, sickness, fatigue, dangers, sufferings, and death, to which they knowingly devoted themselves in a land-march, in that day, from Germany to Jerusalem; when we consider the sacrifice of wealth, luxury, domestic comfort, and established habits, which they voluntarily made for objects which they believed to be just and noble, and without any worldly benefit in prospect to the far greater number, especially of their dignified chiefs; we must ever rank the Crusades among the instances of the sublimer exertions and capabilities to which the human character can raise itself, especially in those periods when men feel rather than calculate—before knowledge has chilled the sensibility, or selfish indifference hardened the heart.

In calmly estimating the merit of the crusaders, we must recollect that they were not the disciplined Macedonians assaulting effeminate Persia; the crusaders marched to attack a people as courageous, as martial, as enthusiastic, but more united, than themselves. The Turks were distinguished for their love of warfare, and the ability with which they waged it; they were inferior

[25] As political dangers, unless at our very threshold, rarely excite the multitude, and sometimes not even cabinets, to great exertions, the Pope wisely enlarged on the religious topics of his subject. These are fully reported by Robertus Monachus, p. 31. and Baldric, p. 86. who were both at the Council of Clermont.

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inferior only in the use of the heavy armour of the European knights, and this deficiency they balanced by their everflowing numbers, their arrows, their dreaded sabres, and their ferocious intrepidity.

preceded by a spirit of pilgrimage.

The arrival of the thousandth year of the Christian æra had created a belief among the Christian clergy, of its possible connexion with the Millennium of prophecy, and the termination of the present system of the world. The opinion was found to be fallacious, but the effect of its prevalence survived its destruction. It had fixed the attention of the public strongly on religious meditation. The conversion of the Hungarians increased the excitement; and a general ardour to visit the places distinguished in their Saviour's history, and especially the city consecrated by his death, spread through Europe[26]. In no age could that spot be visited without emotion, which was believed to be the scene of the last sufferings of the Christian Legislator. Abstracted from all consideration of his divine character, biography does not contain a narrative more interesting to the human sympathies than his history, from his last entrance into Jerusalem, to the hour when agitated nature announced that its Redeemer had expired. It was not the feeling of a rude age merely: if the tomb and country of the Messiah were as accessible as the Capitol and vicinity of Rome, the stream of concourse would have never ceased to flow while Christianity survived in Europe. In one age it might have been called a pilgrimage, in another a journey; at one time devotion might have actuated, at another curiosity. But the human heart must be unstrung, and the human reason unseated, before

[26] Vita Altmanni, 1 Austr. Script. p. 117. Abbo mentions, that he heard in a sermon at Paris, that antichrist would come in the year 1000. He says the opinion pervaded almost all the world, that in the Easter of that year the consummation of all things would take place. See his Apol. quoted by Mosheim, X Cent. vol. 2. p. 421. Eng. ed. 1811.

before the desire of visiting the places, immortalized by the affecting writings of the Evangelists, could cease to interest a Christian population. Let us not, then, upbraid the weakness of our forefathers. They felt like ourselves; but they obeyed their generous impulses with a disinterestedness that we cannot, and, from the new chains of circumstances that environ us, ought not to imitate.

In the eleventh century, the inferior orders, on whom natural feelings always first operate, began the peregrination. Their return and conversation excited the middling ranks to imitate them; and at last, nobles, ladies, and kings, imbibed the passion, and traversed Europe and Asia to Jerusalem[27]. Our venerable Ingulf has given a brief account of his visit to these scenes at this period. The pilgrims were received by the patriarch, and with a solemn procession were led, amid the thunder of cymbals, and immense splendour of lights, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre. In this place he could not suppress his secret prayers, his sighs, and even his tears. The awful recollections that were awakened excited his best sympathies. From thence he went to survey the sacred edifices which the Turks had thrown down. He wished to bathe in the Jordan, and to trace the places visited by the Messiah, but the prowling Arabs rendered it impossible to leave the city[28].

The

[27] Glaber Rodulph. Hist. l. 3. c. 1. p. 23. and l. 4. c. 6. p. 46. ed. Frank. 1596.

[28] Ingulfi Hist. p. 74. It may not be uninteresting to contrast the feelings of Ingulf, with those which the same scenes excited in a British soldier nearly 800 years afterwards. After Sir Sydney Smith's heroic defence of Acre against Bonaparte—the first repulse which after a magical career of victory this general had received—he went to Jerusalem in January 1800. A gentleman in his suite thus described the visit, in a letter to his family, written warm from the spot: "As we reached Jerusalem, the whole city came out to meet us. There seemed to be between twenty and thirty thousand of all sexes and ages, crying out, Vive le English Commandant! Bono English!—The clock had just struck ten, when we proceeded to the church of the Holy Sepulchre in this procession—first the British colours—then Sir Sydney and the monks—myself and friend followed, and a crowd of half-starved pilgrims closed the rear. The Western gate introduced

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The sufferings with which the pilgrims soon after his visit were harassed, appal our tranquil minds, and induce us to regret that sensibility so pure was not better counselled by discretion. "There was scarcely," says William of Tyre, "one out of a thousand who came, who could support himself; their means of subsistence having been lost by the way, or consumed in the immensity of the undertaking."—But when they had reached the city, the object of all their hopes, its Mahomedan masters forbad all entrance, unless a pecuniary tribute was paid at the gate. From this exaction, nearly a thousand wretched and almost naked pilgrims, worn with famine and fatigue, usually lay without the walls, unable to raise the sum required to be admitted into the city. The monasteries and people of Jerusalem compassionately supplied the fainting wanderers with all the assistance they could afford; but as the Turks were in possession of the country, the supplies of Christian charity could not be abundant. Within the city, the Turks were active to insult and injure all who came into it: they rushed into the churches, sat upon the altars, overturned and trod under foot the sacred vessels, scourged the pilgrims and the clergy, and insulted and imprisoned the patriarch. The citizens were never safe; death or slavery hung over them every day[29].

Sufferings of the Pilgrims.

The attention of Europe had been first called to the calamities of the Eastern Christians, by a short pathetic allegorical address from the scientific Pope Sylvester II.[30] The intrepid Gregory VII. interested by their condition, had projected in 1074, to lead an army of 50,000 voluntary soldiers to their assistance[31]. The troubles

duced us to the church. The organ sounded awful melancholy notes, till we came to the venerated tomb. The monks paused—and Sir Sydney entering first, begged to be left alone. He was so for about a quarter of an hour, *and came out in tears.*"

[29] Will. of Tyre, p. 636.

[30] See it among his letters in the Bib. Mag. Patr. vol. 3. p. 701.

[31] Ep. Greg. in Concil. vol. 12. p. 322. cited by Gibbon, vol. 6. p. 3; and Dupin, in

troubles of his life made his project ineffective, and it was reserved for a humble and obscure individual to begin the mighty conflict.

Peter the Hermit visits Jerusalem.

Among the pilgrims towards the close of the eleventh century, was Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens. The calamities he beheld strongly interested his compassion, and his conversations with the Patriarch Symeon increased the impression. "We have no hope from Greece; it can scarcely support itself: it is so weak as to have lost half of its empire within a few years," said Symeon, who then intimated to the Hermit, that his countrymen were the only persons who had the power to relieve them. Peter had been a soldier in his youth. A warrior's mind, accustomed to great impulses, is ever ready to receive them. His heart burnt with indignation at what he saw and heard. His own emotions were evidence that his countrymen would feel as he did; and the vast conception arose to his mind, of all Europe marching to relieve afflicted Asia. He determined to be the generous herald that should call them to the mighty task. "If the Roman church, and the princes of the West, knew of your sufferings," he exclaimed, "I am sure they would exert themselves for your benefit. Write to them the description, and authenticate it by your seal: I will deliver it, and endure every trouble to alleviate your sorrows." The patriarch made his statement, and Peter departed for Europe [32].

The time in which he attempted the execution of his purpose, was to all human appearance unpropitious to his success. The Pope, Urban II. was, as Gregory VII. had been, at variance with the emperor, who pursued him so vindictively, that he could only escape his power by secret flight; and he was actually hiding himself

in the Eleventh Century of his Ecclesiastical History. Victor III. who preceded Urban, and died 1087, had sent 100,000 men to withstand the Moors in Africa. Dupin, ib.

[32] Will. Tyre, p. 637; and see Alberti Acq. Hist. Hierosil. l. 1. p. 185. His work is also a respectable authority for the first crusade.

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himself among his friends, while a rival pope was seated in Rome, when the indefatigable Peter discovered him, delivered his credentials, described the evils which he proposed to remedy, and engaged the Pope to espouse his project[33]. Encouraged by the pontiff, Peter traversed Italy, passed the Alps, and visited the court of every prince in Europe to whom he could gain access. Though small in stature and contemptible in appearance, his eye was penetrating, his countenance animated, his oratory glowing and profuse. He spoke as he felt, and he had seen what he described. His own emotions roused consenting sympathies in all whom he addressed. From the palaces, he went to the villages and the towns: the people crowded to hear him: and an universal eagerness to undertake the daring adventure, was his triumph and his reward[34].

He persuades Europe to attack the Turks.

The coincidence of his exhortations, of the Grecian emperor's solicitations, and of the papal recommendation, produced a powerful effect. In March 1095, a general council was assembled at Placentia, to which an unprecedented number of the laity came. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor were introduced, who urged the assembled chieftains "to repel the barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe[35]." At the description of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren, the assembly burst into tears; and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour. In November, another council was convened at Clermont, in France, attended by such multitudes, that no building could contain them. The Pope addressed them in the open air. An universal shout of approbation burst from the transported audience. The Pope hailed the enthusiastic unanimity as the Divine inspiration, and recommended, that all who should undertake the expedition,

[33] Will. Tyre, p. 638. [34] Ib. 639 & 637. [35] Gibbon Hist. vol. 6. p. 5.

expedition, would impress the sign of the Cross on their garments, and wear it on their shoulders[36].

The defect of the first crusades was not in their conception, which was grand and politic; nor in the valour and fortitude with which they were executed, for these transcend encomium; nor in their justice, because the right of Europe to assist endangered Greece and oppressed Syria on their invitation, cannot be questioned, while the weak and injured are allowed to solicit alliances and aids against invasive violence[37]; but it was in the want of wisely organized plans, and a judicious overruling authority, by which the energies excited might be proportioned to the occasion, duly regulated in their movements, and applied to their best effect. There was a vast mass of voluntary enthusiasm put into action, but no Agamemnon to direct it. The excitement was indeed inevitably too great. It was essential that the sensibility of all parts of Europe should be touched, or sufficient forces could not have been raised, nor when ready have been safely marched, from jealousy of those princes who might refuse to concur; for, in addition to the zeal to go, it was necessary to produce every where sacred feelings of veneration and sympathy for the cause, that might protect the lands and property of the crusaders while absent. This universal excitation produced an overflow of means. But it is easier to stimulate than to govern. The ardent enthusiasm propagated itself irresistibly on all sides, from its perfect congeniality with all the active sentiment of the day. The cause was so clearly just and urgent to the reasoning, the moral feelings, and the religious

[36] W. Tyre, 641. Deus vult, Deus vult! was the general exclamation.—"Be these words, added the pope, your shout of battle, for they are prompted by the Deity." Robert Monachus, p. 219. ed. Reub.

[37] Guibert mentions that the emperor of Greece sent his letters into France, to excite their minds ad defendendam periclitantem Greciam. Hist. Hieros. p. 475. On this principle we have lately assisted, and nobly rescued, Spain.

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gious sympathies then prevailing, that it was embraced, whenever mentioned, with a fervency, a resolution and a rapidity, which has scarcely had a parallel in any of the moral or political epidemics that are known to have agitated mankind.

The talents of Gregory VII. might have given judgment to the promiscuous mass, by his foreseeing regulations. Urban was requested to head the enterprise, but he was unfit for it, and declined it. No other leader then existed known enough to all Europe, to pronounce the orders which all would obey. Some of the princes more immediately connected with the French power by their feudal ties, and thus more accustomed to associate, happily consented to unite their forces. But the rest of Europe was necessarily left to its own uncounselled energies and independent exertions. The four great bodies that moved first, were little else than so many impetuous and undisciplined mobs.

It was on the eighth of March 1096, that a body of pedestrian crusaders began the movement, under the command of Walter Sans-avoir, or the Pennyless, a noble and brave man. They marched through Hungary, then full of morasses[38]. Permitted to purchase necessaries, they traversed the country peaceably to Belgrade, and passed into Bulgaria. Here their sufferings and their resentments began. The Bulgarians refused to sell them provisions. Pressed with famine, the crusaders seized their cattle. The Bulgarians collected to the amount of 140,000 men, attacked them, burnt some in the asylum which they surrounded, and dispersed the rest. Walter led the survivors cautiously through the wide spreading Bulgarian forests, out of the inhospitable country, to the vicinity of Greece, where they were allowed to

[38] It was accessible only in certain places, and the passes were there exceedingly narrow. W. Tyre, 643.

to supply their wants, and to wait the expected arrival of Peter and his company[39].

The next expedition was conducted by Peter himself, a promiscuous incoherent mass, of all languages and nations, in number forty thousand. They proceeded inoffensively from the Rhine through Franconia, Bavaria and Austria, to the borders of Hungary. Peter's conduct seems to have been wise and upright. He sent a messenger to the king, requesting leave to pass. It was promised on their peaceable conduct. They paid for what they had, and passed on to Bulgaria. But there, hearing of the injuries which Walter's companions had sustained, and seeing their arms and spoils hung up as trophies on the walls of the city, they were transported with an evil rage, broke into the town, and destroyed the inhabitants[40]. Peter hearing that the king of Hungary was collecting his forces to attack them, hastened their passage of the river and their march to Nissa. Here, on giving hostages, they obtained provisions, paid for them, and were all going off peaceably, when a few Germans, remembering their quarrel with a Bulgarian on the preceding night, falling back from the body, set fire to his mills and some adjoining houses. These wretches, not a hundred in number, having accomplished their villany, joined the multitude, who were innocent of the outrage. But the chieftain of the district presuming it to be the deliberate act of all, armed his people to revenge it, and attacking their unguarded rear, seized all their waggons containing their provisions, and also their sick, women and children, whom they slew. The advanced

[39] W. Tyre, 643. Alb. Aq. 186. Albert writes from the accounts he received from the crusaders themselves. It is a valuable narrative.

[40] Four thousand of the citizens were killed in this assault. W. Tyre, 644. This author, who is usually moderate and benevolent, certainly mentions this massacre as a just punishment for the conduct of the inhabitants to the companions of Walter. That fierce age did not comprehend, or were too impetuous to practise, the Christian precepts against revenge and cruelty.

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advanced crusaders returned in wrath to punish the assailants. In vain Peter exerted himself to keep them tranquil, till he had calmly negociated for peace and the restoration of their baggage[41]. A thousand of the most impetuous determined on revenge. As they rushed forwards, Peter sent a herald commanding the rest not to aid the madmen, who were compromising the safety of all by their violence. They promised to obey; but when they saw their friends, some falling on the bridge, and others perishing in the wafers, their feelings overcame their prudence, and all rushed wildly forward to participate in the conflict. The catastrophe was terrible. The Bulgarians conquered. Ten thousand of the crusaders were slaughtered; the rest fled in panic to the woods; and all their money and supplies were captured. Peter was three days collecting them by trumpets and horns out of the forest, and about thirty thousand marched hastily from the country, enduring the greatest miseries from the want of subsistence. A messenger from the Grecian emperor at last met them, and conducted them to the encampment of Walter the Pennyless[42].

Arrived at Constantinople, Peter stated the objects of their expedition, to the emperor, in a manly and impressive speech: it was favourably received. They were passed over the Hellespont in Grecian vessels, to the Asiatic side, where they waited for the arrival of the great princes who were to follow. The emperor frequently cautioned them to be wary, and not to advance into the country till their friends arrived[43]. Their patience and good conduct lasted two months. Their insubordinate spirit then broke out. They divided themselves into parties, to plunder the country, at

[41] The conduct of Peter on this occasion seems to have been equally wise and just. But he had to govern, what wisdom and goodness can never govern, an undisciplined and excited multitude. The detail of his exertions is worth reading in W. Tyre, p. 645.

[42] W. Tyre, 644—646. Alb. Aq. 187—190.

[43] W. Tyre, 646. Alb. Aq. 190.

at first successfully. But Solyman, the Turkish sovereign of these parts, had been silently collecting forces from all the alarmed East. He advanced in strength. He destroyed the German division, which he surprised: he met the rest blindly rushing to revenge. In a decisive battle, Walter the Pennyless, and their best chiefs, fell. Out of 25,000 foot, and 400 horse, scarcely one escaped either death or captivity. The Turks then stormed the camp, took it, and put all to the sword; soldiers, sick, aged, matrons, and monks: the boys and girls only were saved, who were reserved for slavery. Peter escaped to Constantinople[44].

The third expedition was a body of 15,000 men, under Godescalcus, a German monk. He tracked Peter's steps, without difficulty, to Hungary. The liberal supplies they received, tempted them to intoxication, and that led them to enormities. The Hungarians armed, and pursued them to Belgrade: there they invited the Germans to deliver up their weapons, on the promise and as the pledge of peace. Alarmed and infatuated, the disgraced adventurers complied, and the faithless natives slaughtered them without mercy[45].

The fourth body was a still more promiscuous, disorderly, and ungovernable rabble. They assembled together from all parts of the West, without a commander, without a guide. These appear to have been the wretches that committed the crimes and follies ascribed by some, indiscriminatingly, to the crusaders. "Instead," says the honest historian, "of going in the fear of God, and mindful of his commands and their own Christian duties, they turned themselves to madness," and attacked and murdered the Jews at Cologne, Mentz[46], and elsewhere, who were living inoffensively

[44] W. Tyre, 647. Alb. Aq. 191—193.

[45] W. Tyre, 648. Alb. Aq. 194.

[46] Mr. Gibbon says, with Italics, that the massacre of the Jews is *coolly* related. vol. 6. p. 19. This is not fairly said; for W. Tyre calls it madness and cruelty—insanias,

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inoffensively and unsuspiciously, and proceeded in disorder through Franconia and Bavaria, into Hungary, in numbers two hundred thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Refused a passage through Hungary, they attempted to force it. They were conquered in the struggle, when a wild panic seized them. Several were destroyed; the largest portion of the rest, disheartened by the disaster, abandoned an enterprise which they were both unworthy and unfit to carry on, and disgracefully returned home, while another part joined the princes in Italy[47].

These four bodies of adventurers, the ebullient froth and scum of the crusading zeal, either never reached their destination, or disappeared almost as soon as they arrived. They did nothing but mischief to the great cause they so unhappily espoused[48]. They excited the alarm and alienated the minds of the king of Hungary and the emperor of Greece, from such dangerous allies; and they conveyed to Solyman the full knowledge of his danger, and gave him time to prepare, from all the regions of the Turkish empire, that powerful military force with which he confronted the noble and virtuous princes, and their followers, whom the Muse of

insanias, crudeliter—and arraigns the count, the leader of the perpetrators, as maleficiorum particeps, and flagitiorum incentor: and afterwards ascribes their panic to a *divinely*-infused terror, immisso divinitus terrore—and to the wrath of Heaven punishing their impiety. p. 649. So Albertus Aquensis brands it as cruel, and describes their defeat as coming from the justice of God, punishing them for killing the Jews. He classes it as a scelus detestabile, and expressly says that God commands no one unwilling or compelled, invitum aut coactum, to assume the Catholic faith. p. 196.

[47] W. Tyre, 649, 650. Albert. Aq. 195, 196. It was some of these men who carried with them a goose and a goat, whom they venerated—a curious fact, which assists us to comprehend the strange animal worship of the ancients.

[48] Mr. Gibbon states, that of these first crusaders, 300,000 men perished, vol. 6. pp. 21 & 39. This is a calculation that trebles the real number. He mentions Walter to have led 15,000 foot and 8 horsemen, p. 18. Peter had 40,000, and Godescalcus 15,000. W. Tyre, 643 & 648. Making together 70,008. Almost all these perished. But of the body of 200,000, W. Tyre expressly says, That the count Ernico *returned* with the greatest part of the fugitives, cum maxima parte; and that others went to Italy. So that if we allow 30,000 of these to have fallen in the pursuit, it will make the number that perished in these four first expeditions about 100,000—not 300,000.

of Tasso has deservedly celebrated, and whose valour and conduct gave dignity and triumph to the cause for which they bled[49].

The expedition of the French and Italian princes was carefully planned, sagaciously provided for, and deliberately executed. In the spring that followed the meeting at Clermont, they prepared their armour and baggage, procured their horses, and settled their points of meeting, and most convenient roads. As so many myriads could not expect to find sufficient sustenance in any one line of march, they agreed to advance in separate divisions, by different courses.

On the 15th August 1096, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, a respected and experienced chieftain, began his progress into Germany. He was joined by his brother Baldwin, and several contiguous nobles. Traversing Austria, they reached the borders of Hungary, at Pragg, and heard of the catastrophe of Godescalcus. Godfrey negociated with the king for an unmolested passage through his territory, and to appease all suspicions, yielded his brother as hostage for the good conduct of his followers. The duke forbad rapine on the pain of death. The king ordered them supplies on a fair purchase. They reached Zemlin, and crossed the river that bounded Hungary on the South, on the rafts they made; they received back their hostages; arrived at Belgrade, then a Bulgarian town, and entered the Bulgarian forests[50].

The Grecian empire, daily debilitating, had lost all command over

[49] Mr. Gibbon has not done justice to the character of Peter the Hermit, in his account of the crusades. He has so massed the four first expeditions together, although they were completely distinct, as to confound in the reader's mind the atrocities of the last, with that headed by Peter. The conduct of Peter in the enterprise he led, as detailed by William of Tyre, must be felt by all who read it, to have been that of a wise, virtuous and benevolent man, always acting and counselling sagaciously, but disobeyed by impetuous numbers, who suffered their feelings and their passions to overpower their judgment and their religion, as well as his influence and express commands.

[50] W. Tyre, 651—653. Alb. Aq. 197—200.

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over the country north of its capital. The Bulgarians, a rude nation, had rushed upon it, and now overran all the regions from the Danube to Constantinople and the Adriatic. This desolated tract, once so fertile, was thirty days journey in length, of which one-third had then received the appellation of Bulgaria. The other provinces were in an abandoned and uncultivated state, purposely made and left a desert, to prohibit hostile approaches by their forests, and utter destitution[51].

Godfrey proceeded from Belgrade nearly South to Nissa, and thence with an easterly declination to Philippoli, where he heard of the imprisonment of Hugh, the brother of the French king. This prince, eager to be foremost, had taken his course over the Alps into Italy, down towards Naples, crossed with a small company to Dyrachium (Durazzo) where he was quietly awaiting his fellow-crusaders, when he was seized by the Grecian governor, and sent a prisoner to Constantinople[52].

Alexis Commines, the Grecian emperor, is described to have been a bad and deceitful man, who had deposed his master, and usurped his throne; and the character receives confirmation from the dying declaration of his wife. But his conduct towards the crusaders may be accounted for by the effect on his mind of the tremendous spectacle of the excited population of all Europe, and half of it still semi-barbarized, marching into his dominions to pass to Asia. His conduct to the first body that came within his knowledge, was kind and hospitable. It was the fierce and disorderly behaviour of the ungoverned rabble, which began his alarms, and disclosed to him the possibility of a danger more immediately urgent, than even the presence of the dreaded Turks. Suspicion once aroused in a mind that has evil tendencies, never dies; its consciousness of its own defect of principle is applied to every one,

[51] W. Tyre, 653.

[52] Ibid. 653, 654.

one, because no one believes another to be better than himself. Hence Alexis, apprehensive of experiencing from the European chieftains that treachery which he had practised, acted towards them with a hostile mistrust that produced the mischiefs which it had unnecessarily foreboded.

Summoned by Godfrey to release his noble captive, he refused. The indignant crusaders, who had then reached Adrianople, were allowed to plunder the imperial province. Alexis, feeling their power, liberated his prisoners, and invited Godfrey to his capital, with a small company. The wary duke declined the civility; and the emperor expressed his resentment at the refusal, by forbidding the usual market for the troops. Godfrey had no resource but to permit them to gather their subsistence by force. The market restored, the pillage ceased. Christmas approaching, the evils of a wintry atmosphere appeared. So heavy were the rains, that their tents could not keep out the wet, and their food and baggage were spoiling. The emperor, affecting to pity their state, invited them into barracks on the shores of the Bosphorus. His policy was to pen them within a narrow circuit, where they could not plunder. His offer was accepted; they marched over the bridge through the city to their allotted stations, to wait till the other chiefs arrived[53]. The emperor repeated his invitations to Godfrey, who, mistrusting a snare, continued to decline them; yet, anxious not to offend against the laws of courtesy, he sent noble persons with his apologies. The disappointed Alexis again prohibited the market, and had the folly to reveal his base intentions, by sending archers secretly in ships towards the duke's encampments, who slew such as they found straggling, or could reach with their arrows. Roused by this exigency, Godfrey assembled a military council, and sent his brother in haste to occupy the bridge they had

[53] W. Tyre, 654.

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had crossed, that they might not be surrounded and destroyed in the narrow spot they inhabited. Their rapid movement secured the bridge. All the city, now alarmed, flew to arms. The crusaders, equally disquieted at their increasing peril, set fire to the barracks where they had lodged, and a tract of six miles was soon enveloped in flames; then sounding their trumpets and collecting all their forces, they marched in battle-array to the bridge. Their anxiety was great, lest it should be destroyed at the farthest extremity. But Baldwin's vigorous celerity anticipated Alexis, and secured the command of the ulterior bank. All the army passed, and ranged themselves before the city in free and spacious places, favourable to their warlike evolutions. A battle ensued; but the Greeks were soon driven in to the interior of their metropolis, and their opponents encamped. The next day strong detachments were sent out to forage, who scoured the country for sixty miles, and collected abundance of supplies[54]. At this juncture, a messenger arrived from Bohemund, the prince of Tarentum, announcing, that he had passed the Adriatic to Dyracchium, that he knew the malice of the Greeks against the Latins, and that if Godfrey would retire to the plains about Adrianople, he would join him in the spring, and punish the perfidious emperor. Godfrey, after a public council, declared in answer, that he could not turn upon a Christian people the weapons meant to be wielded against Infidels[55]. The approach of Bohemund alarmed the emperor into a peaceful disposition. He again invited Godfrey to his palace, and sent his son as a hostage. The duke went without delay. The emperor received him with courteous affability, adopted him as his son, and put his empire under his care; clothed him with imperial garments, and for several months sent him every week as much gold money as two strong men could carry

[54] W. Tyre, 655, 656.

[55] Ibid. 657.

carry on their shoulders, besides ten bushels of copper coin. Godfrey distributed this liberality among the nobles and people, as their necessities required[56].

Apprized in March that the other princes were approaching, Godfrey, on the suggestion of Alexis, passed the Hellespont, and landed his army on the Asiatic plains. As the other bodies arrived, they were passed over in the same manner, so that no two armies were suffered to remain before the city. The emperor had at last discerned the integrity and honour of Godfrey's mind, and found that a liberal confidence was his most advantageous policy.

The presence of Bohemund, whose banners the celebrated Tancred followed, revived the alarms of Alexis. Bohemund was the son of Robert Guiscard the Norman chief who had settled in Apulia, and had assaulted Constantinople. The emperor watched his progress with a jealous eye, and attempted to surprise him; but the valour of Tancred repelled the Greeks[57]. Godfrey introduced Bohemund to Alexis in a friendly interview; and Tancred terminated all mistrust, by marching their forces to the Hellespont, and crossing into Asia.

The next body that arrived, was conducted by the earl of Flanders. He was introduced to the emperor, kindly received, and passed over, like the preceding[58].

Raymond the count of Provence, with the Gascons and Spaniards, and the bishop of Adhemar, traversed Dalmatia amid much suffering[59].

Robert of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, proceeded

[56] W. Tyre, 657.

[57] W. Tyre describes Tancred as a vir fulmineus, expeditissimus, p. 659.

[58] W. Tyre, 659, 660.

[59] W. Tyre describes Dalmatia as then occupied by a populo ferocissimo, accustomed to rapine and slaughter; chiefly subsisting on their flocks, and rarely using agriculture; a few on the sea coast using the Latin tongue, the rest the Sclavonian, p. 660. Raimond de Agiles accompanied this body, and has left us a narrative of his crusade. p. 139—183.

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ceeded with Stephen earl of Blois, with Breton lords and others, to Lucca and Rome[60]; and passing to Dyracchium, traversed Illyricum, Macedonia and Thrace, to Constantinople, and sailed over the Hellespont to the Asiatic shore.

On a census of the whole collected crusaders, they were found to amount to 600,000 pedestrians, of both sexes, and 100,000 mailed knights[61]; of whom Godfrey was appointed the leader.

The first object of his attack was Nice, the capital of the Turkish kingdom, which Solyman had extended from Syria to the Hellespont. When a portion of the crusaders advanced against it, Solyman rushed down from the mountains with fifty thousand horse, but was defeated and driven back[62]. Godfrey formed a regular siege round the city, and each chieftain had his allotted part to superintend. Perpetual attacks ensued for seven weeks. Machines of strong oak beams were raised close to the walls, within which manual labour might securely undermine them. Others were made to contain battering-rams, and to hurl immense stones to bruise the walls. One tower, thought to contain Solyman's wives, was particularly attacked. The Turks defended themselves with arrows ejected from their bows[63] and balistæ; and threw down oil, pitch, tallow, and lighted torches, to burn, often successfully,

[60] Fulcherius Carnotensis, p. 385. He accompanied Robert. He gives a trait that shews the bitterness of religious disputes at that period. Robert received the benediction of Urban at Lucca: at Rome he met the supporters of the anti-pope, Guibert, who, with their swords in their hands, seized the oblations these crusaders had made on the altar of St. Peter, and getting upon the beams of the edifice, threw stones on them as they were praying, merely because they befriended Urban. Ib.

[61] W. Tyre, p. 664. gives this enumeration. The milites, or knights, were the real effective soldiery of armies at that period. Fulcher says, that many of the lower sort, dreading future want, sold their bows, and with the pilgrim's staff *returned home*. p. 385. In another part he gives the same number as W. Tyre, but exclusive of monks, women and children. p. 387.

[62] W. Tyre, 667.

[63] The bow was the destructive weapon of all the Turkish tribes. In Hungary, Tartary, Persia, Syria, and Asia, they are always described with it. Fulcher says, that the crusaders, being new to the use of the bow, were at first destroyed in great numbers by the Turkish arrows. p. 387.

cessfully, the machines that annoyed them. Frequently they caught up the besiegers with iron hooks, stripped the body, and projected it back into the camp. Breaches were made, and repaired by new masonry. But one large building was at last fabricated, and pushed to the walls, which neither the stones nor the fire hurled down could destroy. Within this the crusaders worked to undermine the tower selected for the chief attack, inserting wooden props to support it, as fast as they excavated. When a sufficient hollow was mined, they filled it with combustibles, to which they set fire[64]. In the middle of the night, the supporters being all consumed, the tower fell down with tremendous noise. The crusaders flew to arms at the sound, rushed over the ruins, and became masters of the city, with Solyman's wives, on the 20th June 1097[65].

The capture of Nice was the conquest of Asia Minor. But the object of the crusaders was the deliverance of Jerusalem; and after a short repose, they began their march onwards to effect it.

On the third day of their progress they divided into two bodies: Bohemund, with Robert of Normandy, Tancred and others, took a direction to the left: Godfrey proceeded on the right with the rest, and encamped at a few miles distance. Solyman had followed them unperceived, burning for revenge. He observed their separation, and at dawn rushed upon the weaker branch with 200,000 horse. The warriors at the out-posts sounded their horns; the trumpets and heralds summoned all impetuously to battle. The females, old, and sick, were hastily huddled together into a marsh, with the waggons drawn around them. The soldiers formed rapidly

[64] W. Tyre, 667—672. Fulcher, 387.

[65] W. Tyre gives the most interesting account of the progress of this siege, which seems to have excited an emulation of military invention: For, a German invented one undermining machine, which the Turks destroyed; the count of Provence tried others; and a Lombard at last devised that which was finally successful.

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rapidly in array; the knights arranged themselves in cohorts of fifty on the wings of the foot, and, sending messengers to the other army of the attack, they awaited the Turkish charge[66].

With horrible howlings, and loud clangour of drums and trumpets, the Turks rushed on, sending before them such an immense shower of arrows, repeated almost before the others had fallen, that scarce one of the Christians was unwounded. The knights, seeing their horses perishing, made a furious charge with their swords and spears on the Turks, who, breaking into parts, wheeled off to elude the force of the assault; but soon returned to throw another flight of arrows, which drank deep of the blood of all the unmailed host. Tancred in the meantime flew into the centre of the enemy, prodigal of life, and intemperately brave. He was scarcely saved by Bohemund. The Turks, finding their numbers prevailing, and that the crusaders began to hesitate, tossed back their bows on their shoulders, and attacked with their sabres. Their assault was intolerable. The Christians broke, but soon rallied round their baggage. The Turks pursued with new fury, when Godfrey suddenly appeared at the head of 40,000 knights, eager to partake the fray. The tide of victory then ebbed back: the Turks were in their turn discomfited, and chased beyond their own camp, and all their baggage became the spoil of their conquerors[67].

The crusaders refreshed themselves three days on the field of battle, and marched on to Pisidia. Here they crossed a dry desert, with no water, in the heats of July. Five hundred perished in one day from thirst. The cattle, overcome, refused to labour; the hawks and falcons died on their masters hands; the hunting dogs wandered from the sides of their lords, and lay gasping

[66] W. Tyre, 673.

[67] W. Tyre, 673, 674. Among the booty were many camels, which the Europeans had never seen before. Solyman had 180,000 horse engaged in the battle, the crusaders only 50,000. Ib.

gasping on the sands; the horses perished in like distress: when they at last reached a river, on whose banks numbers, both men and animals, died from a too greedy indulgence[68].

Taught by suffering, they appointed a chosen body to precede the army, and explore the nature of the country. In one of their resting places, Godfrey walking into a forest, met a large bear pursuing a poor husbandman who had been gathering dry wood. The animal flying on the duke's horse, he dismounted, combated him on foot, and at last killed the bear, but not till he was so severely wounded in the thigh, that he fell himself helpless to the ground[69].

Recovering, they passed into Lycaonia, and reached Iconium its capital. The Turks, lessoned by their experience, trusted no more to the field of battle, nor to fortified cities. They adopted a new plan of warfare. They evacuated their towns, stripping them of all supplies, and desolated the country, trusting that famine would destroy their invaders. This policy distressed the crusaders, but did not stop them: they proceeded into Cilicia, and, after some dissensions between Tancred and Baldwin, they advanced towards Antioch. Hitherto they had been conflicting with Solyman and his kingdom of Roum; they now entered the Turkish kingdom of Syria, whose capital was Antioch on the Orontes, and whose sovereign collected all the accessible force of his countrymen, to preserve his dominions from the fate of Solyman and Roum. At Antioch the Turks made a desperate stand. The Christians besieged it with determined bravery. For eight months it defied their power, and the length and difficulties of the siege afflicted them with severe distresses. The city was taken at last on the 3d of June 1098[70].

The

[68] W. Tyre, 674, 675.

[69] W. Tyre, 675. The count of Provence died of sickness about this time.

[70] W. Tyre, 689—712. Albert Aquensis has noticed many interesting particulars of this siege, in his third and fourth books.—Sveno, a Danish prince, with 1,500 men, passing from Nice to join the others, was surprised and slain by the Turks. W. Tyre, p. 690.

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The crusaders had captured Antioch; but they were so exhausted by their efforts to obtain the success, that the Turkish prince and his emirs promised themselves a speedy revenge. On the 20th of the same month, with above 200,000 cavalry, they made a desperate attack on the Christian force. The fury and chief danger of the battle fell on Bohemund, and he had nearly perished. At this crisis, he collected his division into a small circle of despair, resolved to die fighting to the last man. From this perilous situation, Godfrey and his friends extricated him. The battle, long ominous to the crusaders, from their great numerical inferiority, became balanced, and, after new exertions of valour and skill, was decided in their favour. The Turks fled in complete dismay, and abandoned their rich camp to their conquerors[71]. This victory decided the safety and superiority of the crusaders in the Syrian territory; and Jerusalem now lay within their reach, and accessible to their progress. But in attempting this, they had a new Mahomedan prince to encounter, the Sultan of Egypt, whose dominions extended from the Nile to the Turkish kingdom of Syria. He had beheld with satisfaction the crusaders struggling with the Turks, because the Turks had also endangered him. These fierce Tartarian Mussulmen, discouraged by their own defeats, and not averse to his ruin, learnt with sullen content the determination of the crusaders to wrest Jerusalem from his power; and Godfrey having now overthrown two Turkish kingdoms, Roum and Syria, prepared to conflict with the power of the Egyptian Soldan, who held and was fortifying the city, the great object of the whole crusade.

The Christians had scarcely ceased their rejoicings for their last victory, when a destructive pestilence pervaded their army. It swept

[71] W. Tyre, 725, 726. Among the spoils was a silken tent, gorgeously ornamented, and made to represent a fortified city, with walls and towers, and capable of holding 2,000 men. Ib. On this battle, see also Alb. Aquen. pp. 255, 256.

swept away nearly all the females who were with them; of whom fifty thousand perished. It was ascribed to the imprudent use of the plenty they obtained from the conquest of Antioch, after the severe privations they had endured in the siege. Impatient of delay, the people clamoured to be led to Jerusalem at once. The chiefs met in council. The intolerable heats of the summer, the want of water, their scanty provisions, their few horses, and the general debility, so imperiously commanded an interval of refreshment, that the army agreed to wait till autumn[72]. But not to be wholly inactive, some of the princes made excursions around. Baldwin conquered Edessa, and founded there a little Christian principality, which lasted above half a century; Bohemund took Tarsus and other places: and the terror of the Christian arms became more widely diffused.

Jerusalem taken by the crusaders; 1099.

Almost a year elapsed before the crusaders advanced to Jerusalem. It was indeed a fearful attempt. Hitherto they had been supported with all the energies of young enthusiasm, and with all the force of mighty numbers. But they had now a fresh and untouched kingdom to encounter, with an army dwindled to the shadow of what it was. So many had fallen in their marches and battles, and by want and disease; so many had returned home; and so many had chosen either to join Baldwin at Edessa, or to stay with Bohemund at Antioch; that Godfrey reached Jerusalem with only forty thousand persons of all descriptions, of whom those fit for warlike duties were but twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. With these he had to attack a city defended by forty thousand combatants. On the 7th of June 1099, he encamped round Jerusalem, with Robert of Normandy, Tancred the count of Flanders, and other distinguished leaders. The siege was severe. On the 15th of July in the same year, he stormed

[72] W. Tyre, 729.

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stormed the city, and the catastrophe was horrible. Twenty thousand Mussulmen were put to the sword. The cruelties of victory on taking a city by storm, were then, as they have been frequently since, exercised to the full[73]. The age was yet too warlike and too barbarous to recollect the benign precepts and example of Him, whose tomb they were now approaching, and whose sufferings they recollected with the tears and sighs of an excited sympathy. Humanity in war was not the quality of former ages: It was not the characteristic of Greece or Rome in their most cultivated day. That it was neither understood nor practised by the promiscuous warriors of the eleventh century, towards those with whose oppressions and insults all Europe had been inflamed, and who were waging in common with their opponents an exasperated war of mutual extermination, however lamentable, is not surprising. Let us rejoice that our own time, and especially our own country, has learnt to make its military humanity a portion of its national honour, and that its victories are as much distinguished by the generosity of its warriors, as by their fortitude and valour.

Godfrey made king of Jerusalem.

The virtues and exertions of Godfrey were rewarded, by his fellow-crusaders electing him king of Jerusalem[74]. Two other Christian principalities were established, at Antioch in Syria, and Edesssa in Mesopotamia. But they were all three rather the kingdoms of romance than of permanent power or effective force. The Christian army that remained in Palestine, to support them, could hardly muster 300 horse and 2,000 foot. Few cities obeyed their authority,

[73] Alb. Aquen. in his sixth book, and W. Tyre in his eighth, narrate the particulars of the capture of Jerusalem.

[74] He was soon called into the field by the Soldan of Egypt, but he defeated his unwieldy multitudes. W. Tyre, 769. Robert of Normandy, who had partaken of almost every laurel that had been gained in the crusades, after this success returned home, but found his brother Henry possessed of the crown of England.

authority, and these were surrounded by a hostile country. If one was attacked, it could only be defended by the knights of the others collecting for its succour. All the suburbs in their neighbourhood were inhabited by Mahomedans, who not only cut off every one that wandered on the highways, but refused to cultivate the fields, that famine might drive the Christians from their country. Even the cities held by the crusaders were unsafe to them, from the ruined state of the walls, and the great superiority of the adverse population. Bohemund was at one time taken prisoner by the Turks; and Godfrey became so distressed for want of necessaries, that he was compelled to risk an expedition into Arabia, to get supplies that might preserve his followers from famine[75].

Thus although the first crusaders under the guidance of Godfrey had trampled down the Turkish kingdoms of Roum and Syria, defeated the Soldan of Egypt, and captured the sacred city, yet with these exploits their substantial triumphs ceased. Their strength was consumed in their exertions, and the new adventurers who frequently arrived[76], only enabled the kings of Jerusalem to add a few maritime towns to their puny dominion[77]. In the mean time, the Turks recovered from their first disasters and their panic. New Turkish kingdoms were planted at Iconium, Aleppo, and Damascus. The Islam population of Persia, Egypt, and Arabia, again assisted; and their fierce hostilities, though occasionally suspended by their own feuds, yet sometimes defeated and always distressed the Christian princes.

At length one of the little sovereignties, raised and long maintained

[75] W. Tyre, 773—775.

[76] W. Tyre says, that it was customary for new adventurers to arrive about autumn. p. 808.

[77] Tripolis was taken in 1109; Berytus in 1111, and Sidon at the close of the same year, by help of a Norwegian fleet. In 1124, with the aid of a Doge of Venice, Tyre, after a long and arduous siege, was also conquered; and there the first archbishopric of the Latins in Palestine was founded in 1127. Will. Tyre, p. 801—805. & 833—847.

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maintained by the crusaders—the principality of Edessa—fell a prey to its Turkish assailants. The news of its capture, as ominous of further disasters, alarmed and excited Europe[78]. The celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux, employed his eloquent pen[79] to rouse the princes of the West to new exertions. England, then occupied by the wars between Stephen and Matilda, could not obey his call. But the emperor of Germany, Conrad III. and Louis VII. of France, in separate expeditions, endeavoured to emulate the achievements of Godfrey. In November 1146, the emperor was surprised, and his army destroyed by the Sultan of Iconium[80]. The French taunted the Germans for their failure, and marched with Louis into Laodicea, confident of better fortune. They certainly advanced with superior skill. It was the custom of Louis, that the most efficient of his cavalry should precede, explore the country, and dictate the line of march to the foot; a wise measure of military caution. A mountain was one morning settled to be the limit of that day's progress, and the advance was to encamp on its heights. But the leader of the cavalry, on attaining the summit, thought the march had been too short, broke his compact with the infantry, and rode farther on with the horse. The rest, presuming that the toil of the day was nearly finished, began to follow carelessly and irregularly, some on the mountain, some beyond it, and some at its base. The Turks had been secretly but vigilantly accompanying them. Rejoiced, they saw the French dividing and scattering; and as soon as the battalions were too far separated from each other to give mutual support, they rushed upon them with all their native impetuosity and ferocious

Crusades of Conrad III. and Louis VII. 1146.

[78] W. Tyre, l. 16. p. 901.

[79] Bernard was the zealous antagonist of the scholastics. He was a man of great talents, energy, and integrity. His spirited lecture to the pope may be seen in Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Century XII.

[80] W. Tyre, 901—904. And see Otto Fris. Conrad's force was 70,000 coats of mail, besides infantry and light-armed horse. The emperor escaped, and joined Louis at Ephesus.

ferocious valour. The attack was as irresistible as unexpected, and the French army disappeared like the Germans, whom they had insulted[81].

From this period the fortune of the crusaders declined, and their character and conduct lessened with it[82]. Great men, produced by the crisis, arose among the Turks; while degeneracy and discord completed the ruin of the Christians. Their Eastern sovereignty had been raised against probability by fortitude, unity, temperance, and energy. Their extorted throne, no longer upheld by these supports, fell as soon as the Mussulmen princes, whom we are about to commemorate, attacked it with the virtues which had established it.

One of the most active of the Turkish chieftains, from 1120 to 1145, was Zenghi, called by the Christians, Sanguin[83], who obtained the government of Moussoul. The Arabians extol him as one of the greatest men of his age[84], and his successes corresponded with his ability. Destroyed in his sleep by his mutinous slaves, his son Noureddin made himself king of Aleppo; while Seiffeddin, his other son, retained the sovereignty of Moussoul, near the site of the ancient Nineveh. These two of the minor kingdoms of the Turks were, from their locality, in immediate opposition

Noureddin, king of Aleppo; 1145—1173.

[81] W. Tyre, 904—906. The disaster of Louis occurred in January 1147. Both he and Conrad afterwards went to Jerusalem.

[82] Will. Tyre remarks this change, p. 914.

[83] W. Tyre gives very perspicuously the christian history of Sanguin, and his son Noradin, p. 914—974. The Arabian authority used for the following facts is Aboulhasan Aly, surnamed Azzeddin, of whose History of the Atabek princes in Syria, M. De Guignes has given a succinct abstract, which we shall quote from the Account of the MSS. of the Royal Library at Paris, vol. 2. p. 419—466.

[84] Azzeddin has preserved some of his remarks. He would permit none of his subjects to pass into a foreign service. "My states," said he, "resemble a garden encompassed with hedges: If any one goes out, he facilitates the entrance of the enemy." He dispensed, every Friday, among the poor, large sums of money, and took great care of the wives of his soldiers—"Since they follow me continually, and abandon their homes to attend me, should not I watch over the safety of their families?" p. 436.

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opposition to the establishment of the crusaders, and were assisted by Egypt and the declining Saracen caliphate. The death of Seiffeddin left Noureddin without a rival[85]. The talents and achievements of Noureddin surpassed those of his father. Incessantly conflicting with the Christians, with alternating advantages, he sent his emir, Schirkouh, to attempt the conquest of Egypt. Twice the soldan of this country solicited and obtained the aid of the king of Jerusalem. Their united forces at first repelled the emir of Noureddin. But Schirkouh soon triumphed over both Egyptians and Crusaders, in a decisive battle. He overran Egypt, and placed his nephew, Saladin, at Alexandria, to defend it against the Christians and natives[86].

Rise of Saladin.

The policy of possessing Ægypt had become obvious to the crusaders. They attempted to obtain an establishment there. The Egyptian soldan, now jealous of their cupidity, requested the aid of Noureddin to expel them. His emir came. The Franks retired. The emir was made vizier, or soldan of Egypt, by the grateful caliph; but happening to die soon afterwards, his son Saladin was appointed to the high dignity in his stead[87].

The crusaders renewing their efforts on Egypt, besieged Damietta. Noureddin succoured Saladin, whom he considered as his lieutenant, and the siege was raised. Noureddin now approached

[85] Azzeddin, 441—446. W. Tyre describes the Greek emperor's negociations with the Christian chiefs in Palestine, for the surrender of their fortresses to him, and intimates justly, that the plan of conceding them to the effeminate Greeks, emboldened Noureddin to make fresh attacks. p. 920.

[86] Azzeddin, 446—450. With this may be compared Will. Tyre's account of the Egyptian struggles, p. 958—974. He describes the sandy whirlwinds of the Desert, and their fatal effects, as every traveller has experienced them. He states the necessity of falling prostrate on the ground till they have passed, and of fixing the hands deeply in the soil, to escape being carried into the air, and hurled back on the ground. p. 964.

[87] Azzeddin, 453. William of Tyre describes the rich palace of Cairo; its cohorts of eunuchs, the marble porticos, the gilt ceilings, the carved reliefs, the mosaic pavements, the sparkling fountains, the splendid apartments, the aviaries of unknown birds, and the new animals that astonished and delighted the Frankish warriors in Egypt. p. 965.

approached the fulfilment of his ambition. He felt himself strong enough to depose the caliph of Egypt, and announced the decision by the omission of public prayer for his preservation, in the Egyptian mosques. The caliph dying from illness, as the revolution was completing, or violently destroyed, Saladin took possession of all the wealth and power of Egypt[88].

Saladin, hitherto the lieutenant of Noureddin, prepared to become his competitor. His friends were not cordial in supporting his ambition. His father rebuked him, as an inexperienced boy. Noureddin collected a formidable force, to chastise him, but died in 1173, as he was about to begin his march[89]. Noureddin had reigned twenty-eight years in Syria. His character, like his father's, and like that of all men who ascend to empire from a humble state, had many virtues and considerable abilities. He was religious, temperate, just, and prudent. He consolidated the strength of the Mahomedans in those parts, civilized their manners, renewed their intellectual cultivation[90], and prepared them for those

Noureddin's virtues.

[88] Azzeddin, 457. "No king in the world," says this author, "had collected so great a number of precious stones and pearls as were found among this treasure. Among other curiosities, were, a rod of emerald and a mountain of yacout; besides a hundred thousand chosen volumes, remarkable for the beauty of their writing." Ib. 458. The Maured Allatafet, published by Carlyle, mentions 120,000 rare books among the Egyptian treasure. p. 27.

[89] Azzeddin, p. 461. This author lived under the sultan who acceded in 1210. He says his father had been witness of most of the events which he narrates. He adds, that he did not think it proper to give his History too large a size, because people in his time preferred abridgments. p. 420.

[90] Azzeddin thus pourtrays him—"He was simple and modest in his dress, never wearing either silk, gold or silver, which the law prohibited. He neither drank wine, nor would he permit it to be sold in his dominions. He was exact in the duty of prayer, and rose early to perform it. The rest of the day he employed in state affairs. He was not prodigal of his treasures to those who requested favours of him. 'What is in my hands,' said he, 'belongs not to me; I am but the treasurer of the Mussulmen.' At some places he founded colleges, in others mosques; in others hospitals for the poor; in others religious houses, where schools were established for orphans. He received men of learning with the greatest distinction; he arose and went to meet them, and made them sit down —favours which he did not grant to his emirs." Azzeddin, 462—464.

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those great successes by which Saladin was enabled to revive the Turkish power.

Created at first the soldan of Egypt, Saladin had become also its caliph[91]. The possession of the resources of Egypt inflamed him with the desire of succeeding to the power of Noureddin, and of expelling the Christians from Palestine. His great talents and superior character enabled him to accomplish both his projects. He possessed himself of the Syrian kingdom of Noureddin, and he directed his aggregated power with unceasing energy against the decaying and discordant crusaders[92]. A reign of progressive successes was consolidated by the decisive victory of Hittyn, or Tiberias. In this he defeated the Christians with irrecoverable slaughter[93]. He pursued his brilliant fortune to its full extent. Sidon, Acre, Berytus, and Ascalon, fell into his power: and in 1187 he became master of Jerusalem itself, less than ninety years after it had been conquered by Godfrey[94].

Saladin takes Jerusalem; 1187.

The Christian world had vainly hoped to have established a Christian empire in the East. The successes of the first adventurers made many sanguine dreamers, and suggested to the pious many benevolent hopes. But before the sword of Saladin, the kingdom raised by the crusaders was found to vanish like the spectral visions of the mountain-clouds, beautiful and splendid in their brief hour of light, but fading into mist and nothingness

[91] William of Tyre informs us that the Vizier of Egypt was called the Soldan—the real effective sovereign—while the Caliph, his nominal master, was immersed in his pleasures. p. 366. Bohaheddin, p. 30. gives a similar intimation.

[92] Will. Tyre, in his two last Books, has noted the earlier triumphs of Saladin. Vinesauf succinctly states his latter conquests, pp. 250, 251.

[93] Vinesauf, 251. Bohaheddin, 67. The king of Jerusalem was taken prisoner, and the venerated cross.

[94] Bohaheddin, p. 73. Vinesauf, 253. Bohaheddin was the secretary of Saladin, and has left us the interesting account of his royal master, which Schultens published in Arabic and Latin, 1732.

nothingness when the forming rays withdraw. Astonished, the Christian world beheld the mutation, and repined at the providence which permitted it[95]. They did not understand that the great events which agitate human affairs, are limited in their agency to the wants that created them, and that their operation ceases with the evil which they remove. The chief use of the Crusades was to preserve Europe from the Turks, and from Mahomedanism, while the political state of the Western hemisphere was too ineffective to have resisted them. This object accomplished by the persevering bravery of the enthusiastic adventurers, the necessity of their exertions, and with that their triumphs, ended. It was not intended that they should form permanent empires in Palestine, for which they were unfit; and the moral and political misconduct, by which they tarnished their successes, proves that the disappointment, however severe, was wisely and graciously administered. No state or family is exalted for its own gratification. The good of mankind is the criterion and the measure of all national prosperity. The Oriental domination of the crusaders would not have advanced the improvement of human nature, and therefore it was allowed to be dissolved by the vices which destroyed its utility.

The triumphs of Saladin spread alarm through Europe. His talents, and those of his predecessors already noticed, Zenghi and Noureddin, were recombining the broken power of the Turks, and

[95] The popular dread of Europe on the loss of this city, may be seen in the effusions of the Troubadour Gavaudun the elder. "Lord! by our sins the power of the Saracens has increased. Saladin has taken Jerusalem, and we have not yet recovered it. Hence the king of Morocco has announced, that with all his infidels he will fight with all Christian kings. He has ordered all his Moors, Arabs, and Andalusians, to arm themselves against our faith, and they will all assemble more numerous and rapid than the rain. These hateful beasts, fit only to feed kites, destroy our plains, and leave neither stem nor root. So swelled are they with pride, that they think themselves masters of the world, and lance at us railleries the most provoking." Troub. vol. 1. p. 154.

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and actuating it with its primitive momentum. To root out Christianity, became the darling passion of Saladin; and he had even threatened to plant the Standard of the Crescent in the heart of Europe. His victories were leading him to effectuate his wish, or preparing the way for his successors to accomplish it. To prevent this evil, without raising a Christian empire in Palestine, a man even more extraordinary than himself was led by the death of his elder brother to the possession of royalty, in one of the farther kingdoms of the West—our Richard Cœur de Lion—who, though caring little for religion, priests, or pope, was yet actuated to undertake a crusade. His passion for war and warlike celebrity was made the instrument to excite him to this object. The fame of Saladin, whom no one could withstand, inflamed his bosom with heroic envy. Saladin, every where dreaded and execrated, but every where talked of with wonder, was an idol of the popular tongue, that he burnt to pull down and to replace. For this great purpose, all the tempting objects of ambition that lay near him were abandoned. France, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Flanders, and Spain, all permeable to his military activity, were disregarded. Saladin was the exaggerated giant of the public garrulity; and Richard, though some thousand miles distant from the renowned Saracen, yet resolved upon a personal competition, and proceeded with all the powers of his kingdom to the encounter. His romantic valour was thus used to paralyse Islamism again, when under Saladin it was becoming too formidable for Europe. But as soon as this effect was produced, even Richard's extraordinary successes were made to be as temporary as the danger which they averted. After Richard's death, the Turks, having no Christian competitor to withstand them, would have again assumed a dangerous attitude. Other means were employed to counteract them.

them. Zenghis Khan, and Timour, were then raised up, whose meteor empires, darting over half the globe, dismayed and repressed the reviving vigour of the Ottomans.

The Turkish power becoming enfeebled, the crusading expeditions began to linger, and to be unimportant; and when Europe, from its interior improvements, had acquired the competency to resist the Mahomedan powers on its own plains, the spirit of crusading, no longer necessary, utterly ceased, and no excitement could revive it. The most valuable parts of Europe being then secured, the Turks, for purposes beneficial to those nations, were allowed to obtain Greece and its contiguous provinces, which had become unworthy of their misused civilization. The Musselmen successes at that period scattered the Grecian literature round the West, and increased the improvement of all countries but their own. The Turks have since found the rest of Europe impregnable to their attacks; and have now sunk to an inferiority so decided, that their continuance at Constantinople and in the Morea depends upon the permission, and will only last with the forbearance, of the great Christian states.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. XI.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION, OR, RICHARD THE FIRST.

1089—1099.

CHAP. XI.

His character.

THE character of Richard the First, bears the nearest resemblance to the Homeric portrait of Achilles[1], that modern Europe has exhibited. Haughty, irascible, and vindictive, a towering and barbaric grandeur, verging sometimes into barbarian cruelty, distinguished his actions. Valiant beyond the common measure of human daring, unparalleled in his feats of prowess; inferior to no man in hardihood, strength and agility; stern and inflexible in his temper; rapacious and selfish, yet frequently liberal to profusion—gorgeous to ostentation—yet often gay, familiar, satirical and jocular—unshaken by adversity, resolute to obstinacy, furious in warfare, fond of battle, and always irresistibly victorious—his life seems rather the fiction of a poet's imagination, than the sober portrait, which it is, of authentic history.

So

[1] We must except from the similarity, the girlish weeping and complaints to his mother, of the Myrmidonian, so little accordant with the rest of his character, and which Richard would have disdained.

So early were his heroic energies displayed and noticed, that he had obtained the epithet of The British Lion, before he began his reign[2]. It was in Poitou that his military talents were first exerted. Before he was sixteen, this earldom, a part of his mother's jointure, was given to him by his father. A large portion of it was then unsubdued, uncivilized, and, from its mountainous districts, had been deemed inaccessible. To reduce his province to complete subordination, became his earliest passion; and before his incessant activity, his unreceding constancy, his watchful skill and romantic bravery, every difficulty gave way. Their mountain fortifications, so lofty, and till then so impregnable, as to be called aërial towers; their secret and subterranean caverns, that had baffled all preceding hostilities; were unavailing against his vigour and perseverance. But the glory of his successes was tarnished by his severity against the refractory, which his friends admit to have been rigorous, and which his enemies loudly branded for its cruelty[3].

His character was the result of great natural powers, moulded into their peculiar form by the circumstances of his age and education. He lived at a period when society still admired the bodily prowess of the warlike and fierce barbarian; and he eagerly practised those laborious exercises, which created a muscular strength unexperienced among us, which gave to that strength an agility that multiplied its power of destruction[4], and which made the most

[2] We learn this from Giraldus, who in his work addressed to Richard, as count of Poitou and rex mox future, and therefore written between his elder brother Henry's and his father's death, calls him "our Lion and more than Lion." On the circumstance that he was afflicted with a quartan ague, which Giraldus fancied to be a lion's complaint; this conceit is founded, "From this malady he is continually trembling, though not from fear. But he makes all the world tremble when he does." Top. Hib. 752.

[3] Giraldus, p. 752. Hoveden cursorily mentions his wars in Poitou. pp. 550. 560. 582. 642.

[4] Richard is extolled by Vinesauf, his companion, for his flexible limbs, his strength, and length of arm, which was excelled by none

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most dangerous warfare a pastime keenly relished and ambitiously pursued. But literature had now begun to spread, to give reputation, and to kindle the desire to obtain it. Richard, with all his martial fierceness, was subdued by her spells, and aspired to be her votary. The attachment of his parents and brothers to the Provençal poetry, extended to his own mind. He favoured the Troubadours[5]: he became a poet himself. This happy taste awakened in his genius that spirit of romance, that insatiable love of praise, that heroism disdainful of competition and insensible of danger, which raised his actions so much above the level of his contemporaries[6].

To these sources of romantic character afterwards accrued the excitation, which was produced by the news that Jerusalem had been retaken by the celebrated Saladin. This event determined him to attempt a crusade[7]. To rescue the venerated Tomb from Mahomedan outrage, was an object sacred to the reputable feelings of his day, and at last became his own. But to pluck the victorious laurel from the head of the Turkish Sultan, with whose exploits all Europe was resounding, was a daring project still nearer to his heart; and from the hour of his accession he became impatient to achieve it.

His first measures.

He was on the Continent at his father's death; and such was the contrariety of his character, that, although he had rebelliously withstood him, he wept bitterly over his corpse[8]. His first conduct

none in its power of wielding a sword and of striking with effect. Iter. Hierosol. 2 Gale Script. p. 302.

[5] St. Palaye's Hist. Troub. 1. p. 55. The king patronized the Troubadours Faidit, Folquet, Vidal, Bertrand du Born, and Guillaume de Toulouse. All these authors praise him in their oems. Vidal, who displays the richest genius of the Provençal poets, followed him into Palestine, 2 Palaye, p. 271.

[6] Of Richard's poetry, only a few fragments remain.—— See the end of this Chapter.

[7] Chron. Wal. Hemingford, 2 Gale Script. p. 511. Hoveden 637. He was the first to assume the cross on this intelligence, Vines. 257.

[8] Hoveden, 654.

conduct as king, was magnanimous. He retained and rewarded the ministers who had been faithful to his father, though against himself; and he discountenanced those who had abandoned their sovereign to favour him[9]. There was great political wisdom, as well as a rare self-command, in thus respecting the duty and integrity from which he had suffered; and the neglect of those who had violated their fidelity as subjects, rather to promote their own purposes than to benefit him, was a judicious discouragement to future disaffection.

To his brother John he was liberal without mistrust, and, as the event proved, with a precipitate confidence. He released his mother Eleanor from the long imprisonment which she had endured from her husband's resentment, and he entrusted her during his absence with the use of his power. She distinguished her liberation, and gratified his affection, by commencing a circuit round the country, and in her progress releasing all the prisoners and pardoning all the outlaws in his name, that her son's entrance into his royal dignity might be a day of general hilarity[10].

Massacre of the Jews at his coronation;

His splendid coronation[11] was disgraced by his people, by a massacre of the Jews during his state dinner. It was one of those tumultuary movements accidentally excited, to which a collected rabble is always liable. Some leading men of the Jews, desirous to conciliate their new sovereign by a prompt expression of their attachment, approached him with rich presents. Other Jews mingled with the crowd, to hail the king, and to behold the ceremony. One of them, struggling at the hall door too eagerly for

[9] Bromton Chron. 1154, 1155.

[10] Bromton, 1155. Matthew Paris mentions that she had been sixteen years separated from her husband, the late king, and kept arcta custodia, p. 152.

[11] Hoveden, 657. and Matthew Paris, 153. detail the ceremony of his coronation. The great crown of state was so heavy, that two earls supported it after it was placed upon his head. He exchanged both that and his ponderous garments of dignity, for a lighter crown and dress, in which he dined.

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for entrance, was pushed back, and struck. Others, either too foremost or too clamorous, excited the angry attention of the mob. A scuffle ensued. The Jews resisted the ill treatment. The passions of the multitude inflamed, and clubs and stones were used, till the unfortunate strangers were driven away or destroyed.

As no absurdity is too great for a mob to believe, a rumour of unknown origin rapidly spread, that the king had ordered all the Jews to be killed. As plunder was in prospect, the wicked report was as eagerly credited as circulated; and the whole populace, comprising not merely the Londoners, but the countrymen who had been attracted by the coronation, flew, with every weapon they could snatch up, to the houses of the Jews, forced them, set them in flames, plundering and murdering the proprietors. In vain the astonished king sent from his table his chief justiciary and his nobles, to stem the popular madness: their exhortations were disregarded, and their persons menaced. Richard himself, with all the decision and energy of his character, was unable to restrain the sanguinary multitude, until they were exhausted and satiated with their own ferocity[12].

and afterwards in the country.

The Metropolis had to plead the impetuous frenzy of the moment in palliation of their cruelty; the deliberate imitation of the country, was atrocity without excuse. At Lynn, Stamford, Lincoln, and York, this persecuted nation were doomed to experience another fulfilment of their prophetic denunciations in all its terrors. It is difficult to mention with temper the horrible details of these inhuman murders. One specimen may suffice. Some of their houses being destroyed at York, and their wives and children slaughtered, the rest took refuge in the Castle. The people assembled to attack it. A hermit clothed in white led them on, and

[12] The fullest account of this massacre, is in Walter Hemingford, Gale Script. v. 2. p. 514—518. It is also mentioned by most of the Chroniclers.

and exhorted them to the assault, but deservedly perished from a descending stone. Night compelling a pause to the popular fury, the despairing Jews assembled to consult. A venerated rabbi, who had come from abroad to instruct them, was heard with awful respect. He pointed out the inevitable death that awaited them from the madness of the assailants, and exhorted them to disappoint the avarice of their enemies, by voluntarily destroying both themselves and their property. The majority applauded his dreadful advice, and adopted it: they put their wives and families to death, then collecting all their valuables, set them on fire, and slew themselves on the burning piles. The few who dared not follow this terrible example, disclosed the circumstance, and besought the pity of the besiegers. They were seduced by a pretended compassion to open the gates, and they were murdered without mercy by their treacherous persecutors[13].

His preparations for the crusade.

From the hour of his coronation, Richard prepared for his crusade. His great armament required ample treasure, and the king, always impatient to attain his object, and never scrupulous about his means, enforced every method, even the most disgraceful, to raise the money he wanted. He exposed to public sale the honors and possessions which his prerogative could bestow[14]: even the ecclesiastical preferments were made venal[15]. For ten thousand marcs he absolved the king of Scotland from that fealty and allegiance for his crown[16], which Henry had extorted, and which Scotland had never yielded before. Such a sovereign was not likely to have upright ministers. It was therefore not discordant with his own conduct, that the person to whom

[13] Heming. 517.

[14] Hoveden, 658—660.

[15] Hoveden, 659. 663. He made his brother Geoffry archbishop of York, though he had not even been admitted before to priest's orders, and compelled him to give 3,000 marcs. Geoffry was son of Rosamund.

[16] Hoveden, 662. This author has inserted the charta that passed on this transaction, in his History.

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whom he committed the actual regency of England, under the title of its chief justiciary, was, though an ecclesiastic, distinguished for his rapacity, corruption, pride, and voluptuousness: he first tyrannized over his associates in the government, and then afflicted every order of the people with an unblushing system of insatiable violence and contumelious oppression[17].

He proceeds to Sicily.

Richard, intent on his expedition, received the wallet and staff of his pilgrimage from the archbishop of Tours[18], joined Philip king of France, who also had assumed the cross, at Vezelay, and marched in harmonious amity to Lyons. The number of their hosts made it expedient to separate: Philip chose the road to Genoa, and Richard inclined to Marseilles[19]. Disappointed of meeting his fleet at this port, which a storm had retarded, the impetuous king, intolerant of delay, hired some vessels, and sailed without it. He coasted from port to port, to Naples, and paused at Salernum, till he heard that his fleet had arrived at Messina[20].

His fleet assists the Portuguese.

The voyage of his fleet was attended with some circumstances interesting to the attention of Englishmen, who have so recently rescued Portugal from an unprincipled invasion. Collected at Dartmouth, it sailed to Lisbon, but a fearful tempest scattered it. One ship doubled Cape St. Vincent, and reached Silves, then the last of the Christian cities in that part. The Mahomedans from Spain and Africa were invading Portugal, and the inhabitants of Silves imploring its crew to defend them, broke up the ship, and made

[17] This was the bishop of Ely. See Hoveden's description, p. 665.

[18] Hoveden, 666.

[19] At Chinon, in Anjou, Richard promulgated his laws of discipline:—Whoever killed a man at sea illegally, was to be tied to the dead body, and thrown into the waves: If on land, the homicide was to be buried with the corse. To draw a knife on another, incurred the loss of the hand. Abuse was punished by the mulct of an ounce of silver. And a thief was to be shaved, tarred, and feathered. Hoveden, 666.

[20] Hoveden, 667. At Naples he went to the abbey of St. Januarius, to see the sons of Naimund, who stood there in skin and bones. At Rome he abused the cardinal of Ostia, for the simony of the Holy See. Hoved. 668.

made barriers of its timbers. Nine other vessels reached Lisbon. The Emir-al-Moumenin, the Moorish emperor of Africa and Spain, was then besieging Torres-novas. The king of Portugal implored the aid of the English crusaders. Five hundred of the bravest warriors of the fleet marched from Lisbon to Santarem, joined the king, and gave the Mussulmen defiance. Their appearance awed the invaders, and their emperor soon afterwards dying, Portugal was saved[21]. From Lisbon they passed through the Straits of Gibraltar[22], and coasted round Mahomedan Spain to Arragon, where the Christian boundaries began. With timid navigation they ascended to Narbonne, and thence to Marseilles, which was at that time subject to the king of Arragon[23]. After a short stay, they proceeded to Messina.

He enters Messina.

Richard hastened from Salernum, and after a journey of some danger from an act of violence for his personal gratification[24], arrived at the faro di Messina, where he passed the night in a tent near the Straits of Scylla[25]. Assembling his fleet, he set sail for Messina, and entered the port with such a triumphant flourish of trumpets and clarions, that all the city was alarmed, and came out with Philip, who had arrived there, to contemplate and admire the gallant array and splendid pomp of the king of England,

[21] Hoveden, 668, 669.

[22] This famous rock is called by Hoveden, Jubalatariæ Mons, having at its base two noble cities, Alentia and Jubalar. It is principally composed of limestone, and is celebrated for the fossil bones, or osseous breccia, which it contains.

[23] Hoveden, 671. He says, that from Marseilles to Acre, is a voyage of fifteen days and nights direct sailing with a good wind, but then you must traverse the great sea. p. 672.

[24] He travelled from Milete with only one knight. Passing a village, he heard that in one of the cottages there was a hawk. He entered, and seized it. Refusing to release it, the enraged rustics attacked him with stones and clubs: one of them drew his knife on the king. With true chivalric feeling, Richard disdained to bathe his sword with ignoble blood, and struck him with its flat side. The sword broke. He then took up stones himself against them, and at last with much difficulty, on account of their numbers, escaped to a neighbouring priory. Hov. 673.

[25] Hoveden calls these straits a great river, qui dicitur Le far de Mescines, p. 673 the faro of Messina.

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England, and his power. The two kings conferred; and immediately after the interview, Philip, as if envying or dreading the rival glory, embarked in his ships to sail to the Holy Land. But the wind was adverse, and confined him to Messina[26].

It was impossible for the active, we may add the turbulent, king to remain tranquil, cooped within a limited space. His will he never hesitated to make his law: to wish was with him to resolve. At first he was lodged without the city, but on his sister's arrival he wanted a strong place for her habitation. He took by force a Sicilian fortress, garrisoned, and lodged her in it. He desired a repository for his provisions. He observed a strong monastery on the Straits, stormed it, turned out the monks, and deposited there his supplies[27]. These aggressions alarmed Tancred, the king of Sicily, and impressed the people with a belief that he meant to seize the island. This suspicion soon produced a quarrel between them and his army. The indignant citizens shut their gates, and manned their walls: his troops rushed down with violence to an attack. Richard, now apprehensive of the consequences, rode along the ranks with his truncheon, striking those who were unruly. He then passed into a boat, and sailed to Tancred's palace, to consult with the king of France on the emergency. All their nobles assembled; but during their discussions, the people of Messina got on the hills, and prepared to rush insidiously on the English forces, and some began the attack. Richard, hearing of the movement, sprang out from the council, and commanded all his knights to arm. Heading then a division, he ascended a steep part of the mountains which every one thought inaccessible, and gaining after great toil the summit, he drove down the citizens, pursued them to their citadel, and menaced the walls. Stones and missile weapons flew around. The king of France looked on unconcerned,

[26] Hoveden, 673. [27] Ibid.

unconcerned, and gave Richard no assistance. At last the English broke down the gates, climbed over the walls, took the city, and planted the royal banner of England on the castle. Philip was enraged at this spectacle, and ordered it to be taken down, and his standard hoisted instead. The king was too sturdy to quail to Philip; but to preserve peace with his ally, he dismounted his own flag, and committed the care of the city to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, till the king of Sicily should comply with his requests[28]. The claims of Richard on Tancred were principally on account of his sister, wife of the king of Sicily, whom Tancred had succeeded. While these were negociating, Richard agreed on several judicious regulations with Philip, for the peace and good government of their respective armies[29]. He employed the interval in careening his ships, which the worms were injuring, and in making his projectile machines to impel stones and darts[30].

He differs with Philip.

As it was in vain for Tancred to resist the peremptory will and experienced power of Richard, he submitted to the necessity; for the dowry and splendid presents[31] which Richard claimed, a pecuniary compensation was arranged[32]: and Tancred, now reconciled

[28] Hoved. 674.

[29] Their followers were allowed to dispose at their death, of their arms, horses, and clothes, and of half of the property they had with them; the other half was to be applicable to the expenses of the crusade. The clergy might order as they pleased about their chapels, utensils, and books. None in the armies were to play for money, but knights and the clergy, and they were not to lose above twenty shillings in a day and night. Those serving, might play in the king's mansion, to that amount; but if elsewhere, they were to be whipped naked through the army for three days. Mariners who gamed, were to be dipped for three days in the sea. Hoved. 675.

[30] Hoved. 680. Richard's liberality was unbounded, in Sicily. Hoveden says that he gave many ships to Philip; and to his own knights, and to the esquires of the whole army, he bestowed so much treasure, that it was said he gave more away in a month, than his predecessors had done in a year. 687.

[31] Among these were a golden table, twelve feet long and one and an half broad; a tent of silk, so large that two hundred knights might dine under it; and two golden tripods to support the table. Hoved. 675.

[32] Tancred gave twenty thousand ounces of gold in lieu of her dower, and twenty thousand more ounces of gold for all her other claims. Hoved. 676.

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ciled with his dreaded relation, received him as his guest, exchanged friendly gifts[33], and discovered to the English king the insidious politics of the French monarch. Richard, enraged at the disclosure, met Philip no more with his usual countenance of hilarity and peace. Philip inquiring the reason of his altered demeanour, imputed it to his wish of evading his promised marriage with the French Princess Alesia. A convention at last appeased the jealous and mutually dissatisfied sovereigns. This nuptial contract was annulled, and Philip left Messina on his voyage to Palestine[34].

On the day of his departure, Richard's mother reached Messina, with the Spanish princess Berengaria, daughter of Sancho king of Navarre. The queen dowager soon departed for England, leaving her lovely charge, and her daughter the queen of Sicily, to the care of her son.

His actions in Cyprus.

In April, Richard quitted Messina with a fleet of 150 great ships and 53 well-armed galleys. A furious storm soon assailed and dispersed them. Richard with a part was driven on the island of Crete, and afterwards to Rhodes. The ship with Berengaria and his sister, got safe to Cyprus, where others foundered; but the king of Cyprus forbad the ladies to land, and seized the wrecks. Richard sailed to the island, and finding the princesses still kept outside the port, exposed to the violence of the sea, he swore revenge; but at first subdued himself so far as to send three several messengers, to remonstrate with the king of Cyprus, and to

[33] Tancred sent Richard a great present in gold, silver, and precious silks; but Richard would accept of nothing but a small ring, as a pledge of friendship. He sent in return to Tancred, a sword that was believed to be the celebrated Caleburno, the weapon of the famous Arthur. Tancred, pleased with this relic, gave Richard four great ships, called Ursers, and fifteen galleys. Hoved. 688.

[34] Hoved. 688. The large Mahomedan population of Sicily at this period, may be inferred from the account, that during the dispute with Tancred, above an hundred thousand Mussulmen retired into the mountains, with their wives, children, and cattle, and began their incursions on the Christian inhabitants. On the pacification they came back, gave hostages to Tancred for their good conduct, and cultivated their fields. Hov. 679.

to request a restitution of the shipwrecked goods and persons he had taken. The Cypriot prince refusing, Richard stormed, called his knights to arms, and exhorted them to punish the inhospitable king. The Cypriots formed on the shore, an undisciplined host, some with swords and lances, others with clubs and tiles, and placing planks, benches and chests, for their fortification. Richard approached with his galleys and bowmen. A shower of arrows cleared the shore, and an impetuous charge drove the king and his unwarlike array to flight. The Cypriots rallied in the night, and encamped within five miles of the English. Richard, learning their position from his spies, suddenly attacked them before dawn, surprised them sleeping, and slaughtered them without defence. Their king escaped naked, with the loss of all his treasure and baggage, and soon afterwards humbly supplicated for pardon and peace[35].

An illustrious band of exiles arrived at this crisis in Cyprus; Guy the dethroned king of Jerusalem, the prince of Antioch, the count of Tripoli, and others. Before these the king of Cyprus came and swore fealty to Richard, and signed a treaty of peace. But on the same day, after dinner, his fickle humour changed, and while the knights who guarded him were taking their noon-tide sleep, he furtively withdrew, and sent an insolent message to the king of England, retracting all his concessions. Richard disposed his troops for a vigorous pursuit. All the cities of the island soon fell into his power. The weak and faithless king took shelter in an abbey. Pursued to this last asylum, he came suddenly out and fell at Richard's feet, imploring safety for his life and limbs. The English monarch committed him to the care of his chamberlain, with an order that his fetters should be of gold and silver. In this island, thus subjected to his power, he married Berengaria, and

[35] Hoved. 690, 691.

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and caused her on the same day to be crowned queen of England[36]. Having received the submission of all the island, he sailed towards the shores of the venerated land, to begin his long-retarded crusade.

Crusade of Frederic Barbarossa.

When the fall of Jerusalem had again electrified Europe, the ardour to encounter the victorious Saladin was not so much the feeling of the populace, whom the sufferings of preceding expeditions had dismayed, as of the dignified chieftains, in whom religious enthusiasm assumed the shape of emulous ambition. While our Henry II. and Philip of France, obeying the patriarchal and papal hortatives[37], prepared for the expedition, the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, grown old in his German and Italian wars, after addressing to Saladin a letter of pompous defiance[38], advanced from his Hungarian frontier, through Greece, to execute his threats. A life of military activity and frequent victory, promised a renewal of the triumphs of Godfrey. He entered Asia Minor; he traversed the inhospitable deserts, where his predecessors had suffered; clouds of Turks hovering about him, to whose vigilant enmity his veteran experience afforded no advantage. He defeated one of their armies. He began to approach the plains of Syria, the anticipated theatre of his grandest exploits, when he was drowned accidentally in a petty river of Cilicia[39]—another monument of the vanity of ambition. His mighty host, long attenuated by want and sickness, now diminished by dispirited desertion: a feeble remnant, with his son, survived, to assist in the defence of Tyre and the siege of Acre.

The

[36] Hoved. 692. This capture of Cyprus is declared to have been very opportune for the supply of the crusaders at Acon. Vines. 332.

[37] See the Letters of Pope Gregory, of Terricus the Master of the Templars, and the Patriarch of Antioch. Hoved. p. 636—646.

[38] Hoveden, p. 650. The more moderate and better-written answers of Saladin may be seen in Vinesauf, 259.

[39] See Vinesauf, 260. Mr. Gibbon doubts if this river was the Cydnus, in which Alexander imprudently bathed, or the Calycadnus, a less notorious stream. vol. 6. p. 82. But see Hoveden, 708.

The first check which the conqueror of Jerusalem received was at Tyre, from which Conrad of Montserratt, with the pilgrims whom he had collected, after a severe conflict, expelled him[40]. Animated by this advantage, they advanced to besiege Acre[41], the place in our times so celebrated as the spot where Bonaparte first experienced a defeat; and in the year 1189[42], distinguished for its enthusiastic defence by the inflexible Turks. No siege in the middle ages was more remarkable than this, for its duration, the resolution and sufferings of the defenders, and the persevering valour of the assailants. It was raging in all its fury when Richard arrived in Palestine[43].

Character of Saladin.

Saladin had now reigned above twenty years. In him the Mussulman character appears to have reached its highest perfection. The successful protector, he was also the most accomplished example, of Islamism. His piety, his liberality, his love of justice, his fortitude, and his religious patriotism, alike employed and displayed the energies of his soul. Constant and fervent in his prayers, even in his journeys, when the hour of devotion came, he descended from his carriage and adored his Maker. So strict in his fasts, that if disease compelled intermissions, his cadhi was ordered to note down the offending days, that they might be afterwards supplied. Fond of theological discussions, he attracted the best Mahomedan doctors to his court. To hear his Koran read was a favourite occupation, and he was often observed to shed tears at its more affecting passages[44]. His liberalities were unceasing

[40] Vinesauf, 254. Bohad. 75. Conrad undertook to defend Tyre, on condition of being made its sovereign if he rescued it. Jac. Vitriac. Hist. p. 1119.

[41] Vitriac. 1120.

[42] In this meanly fortified city, Sir Sydney Smith, and Ghezzar Pacha, in 1799, repulsed eleven assaults of Bonaparte, who at last was compelled, by the clamour of his troops, to abandon the attack.

[43] Vinesauf has described the incidents of this siege in ample detail, 267—299. So Bohadin, p. 93—179.

[44] Bohadin, p. 4—6. The Koran has no pathetic

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unceasing and unbounded: he often gave away whole provinces. His christian contemporary remarks, that his gifts were extreme[45]. The property he left attests the truth of the encomium—the sovereign of all Syria and Egypt had no inheritance for his heirs. Forty-eight pieces of money composed the whole of his property at his death[46]. Assiduous in administering justice to his people, he sat every Monday and Thursday on his judicial tribunal: he received all petitions, patiently continued till night in answering them, and suffered none to appeal to him unheard[47]. His fortitude was more Roman than Oriental. "I saw him," says his secretary, "in the fields of Acre, afflicted with a cruel disease, with boils from the middle of his body to his knees, so that he could not sit down, but only recline; yet he went to the station nearest the enemy, arranged his troops for battle, and rode about from dawn till eve, enduring patiently all the severity of his pain[48]." So at Chernuba, pain and sickness compelled him to withdraw: the Francs, informed of his retreat, advanced to attack: but Saladin, though in the most acute agony, mounted his horse, and formed his troops to battle. Forced to repose, he would have no tent erected for him, that his adversaries might not suspect his indisposition, but he lay awhile in the shade, with a linen covering over his head. His army maintained their post, and were all night under arms. This interval was passed with his physician, attempting to alleviate his disease, and in broken slumbers. But the moment

pathetic incidents, but, amid much puerility, there is in some parts a wild solemnity, which cannot be read by a disciple with insensibility. It speaks of the Deity, at times, in phrases of awful veneration. That it is adapted to kindle devotional feelings, seems to be proved by the profound reverence with which all Musselmen, however else uninformed, have been observed to repeat their prayers.

[45] Supra modum liberalis. W. Tyre, 981.

[46] Bohadin, p. 5.—He once said, evidently alluding to himself, That it was very possible for a man to look on gold and earth with an eye of equal contempt. p. 13.

[47] Bohadin, p. 10—12.

[48] Ibid. p. 18.

moment dawn appeared, again he sprung upon his horse, rode round his troops, and prepared his plans to surround his enemy[49].

But the pervading feature of his character was his unextinguishable ardour for warfare against the Christians. The texts of the Koran, commanding or commending holy wars for the Islam faith, were always in his mind. The desire for these expeditions became the absorbing passion of his soul: all his discourse, all his meditations, all his anxiety, centred in this one object: he loved no one who did not urge it on[50]; and he threatened the emperor of Germany that he would in time pass the seas, and possess himself of the European continent[51]. No fatigue deterred him. When besieging Saphada, he told his secretary, "We will take no sleep to-night, till five catapultas are erected." He appointed the soldiers to construct them; and all this night, the messengers coming in every now and then to narrate the progress of the work, he passed in cheerful conversation, though the darkness was very long, and the weather, adds his friend, announcing his own feelings, severely cold and wet[52].

His hatred of Christianity.

But although interesting to his friends, Saladin was intolerant in his faith to his own subjects[53], and terrible to his enemies. His Turkish nature, though civilized, was not subdued. With a club he felled the Egyptian caliph, his master, to the ground[54]; he dispossessed

His cruelty.

[49] Bohadin, p. 19.

[50] Ibid. p. 16.

[51] Sed transibimus per voluntatem Dei et obtinebimus terras vestras universas. Vinesauf, 259.

[52] Bohadin, 20. Saladin is also praised by his friend, for his clemency, his command of his own irritability, and his condescending good nature, an instance of which Bohadin mentions, when he splashed his Sultan with mud in Jerusalem, a very muddy city. His secretary was withdrawing in confusion at the accident, but Saladin, with a friendly laugh, commanded him to remain. p. 23.

[53] He persecuted the philosophers and the Moattalites, and ordered his son to slay a young man who was said to be impugning some of the dogmas of his creed. Bohadin, 7. Besides its imposture, it is the great reproach of Mahomedanism, that its legends and its Koran are incompatible with knowledge and history.

[54] Will. Tyre, p. 981.

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dispossessed the children of Noureddin, his first benefactor, of their royal inheritance; and his conduct towards the Christians, was ferocious and implacable[55].

He assists the garrison of Acre.

Three cities[56] were all that the Christians held on the sacred land, when they resolved on the siege of Acre. Saladin flew to its rescue. A timely arrival of 12,000 new adventurers from the Northern part of Europe, saved the besiegers from annihilation. New accessions of crusaders enabled them to environ the city more strictly. Its provisions failing, Saladin sent fifty galleys with every useful supply, which reached the harbour. Naval combats succeeded between other fleets of the contending powers, which became more terrible from the use of the Greek fire, an inflammable composition, which water aggravated, and which sand and vinegar only could subdue. Vast towers of wood were erected, to command the city. The besieged were as active in the invention of machines to withstand them. Repeatedly were the military contrivances on both sides consumed by flames. Saladin omitted no exertion of talent or bravery to relieve his friends. Often on the point of yielding from want, he still found the means to throw in supplies. At times, with immense armies, he bore down on the Christian lines: at times his fleets swept the sea. Ever on the watch, his attacks were sometimes almost fatal to the besiegers; when new arrivals of succours restored the Christian strength. On both sides, the projectile weapons incessantly hurled destruction on the combatants or their military engines. The Greek fire became lavishly used, especially from the city: individuals, machines, towns, and ships, were destroyed by it. All the powers of both parties concentred in the attack and defence of this place. The

[55] Yet Vinesauf says, he sought and received the honour of knighthood from Enfridus de Turo, a Frankish chieftain of Palestine. p. 249.—The ancient poem, the Ordene de Chevalrie, is built on this incident, but ascribes it to a different knight.

[56] Tyre, Tripolis, and Antioch, as Saladin states in his Letter. Vines. 260.

The war in Palestine raged only here. Famine distressed the besieged. It was still more dreadful to the unyielding besiegers[57]. Their persevering valour had been baffled by equal constancy, equal bravery, and superior means: and it was at this dismal and discouraging crisis, that Philip and Richard arrived at the Holy Land.

Richard approaches the city.

The presence of the king of France[58] gave new spirits to the besiegers; but it was the arrival of Richard that filled them with transport and hope. In his course from Cyprus, he met a Saracen ship of uncommon size, well furnished with arms, provisions, abundant phials of the Greek fire, and two hundred combustile serpents, for the use of the besieged. Seven Turkish emirs were with it. Its magnitude and powerful engines deterred the English vessels; but Richard exclaimed, "Will you let it get away undamaged? Shame! shame! after so many triumphs, now become cowardly! No one shall have safety while an enemy remains. Take her, or you shall all be crucified if she escapes." This vehemence compelled them to make a virtue of necessity, and the English sprang to board her. But the Turks, contending from a higher station, lopped off the arms and heads of those who took hold. Rage at this sight added new energies to the assailants; they rushed on with mingling fury and despair, and, after a bloody conflict, remained master of the prize, which soon sank. It is stated to have been of that importance, that if it had reached Acre, the city could never have been taken[59].

As

[57] Vinesauf circumstantially describes the shocking effect of the famine, p. 293—299. Bohadin mentions that it occasioned a great number of the Franks to desert to Saladin, one of whom betrayed the sailing of a Christian fleet, which he captured. A silver table, with a perforated *silver sphere*, were part of the booty. p. 156.

[58] Bohadin mentions Philip with great distinction: he says he was "great among the Franks, eminent in majesty as well as virtue." p. 159.

[59] Vinesauf, 329, 330.—Bohadin relates that this vessel contained 650 strenuous warriors. Its captain, finding escape impossible, declared that the English should not profit by their victory: "Let us covet a glorious death," he exclaimed, and ordered the sides to be hewn with axes, till the waters rushed in. p. 166.

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His entrance into the port.

As Richard approached Acre, he beheld a spectacle of great military magnificence. Around the city spread the camps of the besiegers, a collection of warriors from every country in Europe, with their separate and appropriate standards. The walls of the place were manned by its resolute defenders, urging their active engines of warlike defence. Beyond, at a visible distance, the powerful army of Saladin appeared, covering the hills and plains; their tents radiating with the gorgeous colours so precious to Turkish taste, and their leader watching to seize every favouring moment for a successful attack. The king of France, and all the nobles of the Christian army, advanced to meet Richard as he entered; and the acclamations of exulting thousands, anticipating relief and victory from his experienced prowess, completed the animating scene[60].

He joins the besiegers.

One of his first actions was to surpass Philip in liberality[61]. His next care was to plant his manganells and stone-projecting machines and tower against the gate of the city, which he resolved to force. A severe malady stopping his personal exertions, the king of France determined on an assault in the interval. The Turks within, by shouts, trumpets, and drums, gave the alarm to Saladin without: he hastened with his forces to attack the trenches: and the double conflict ended in the burning of the French engines by the Greek fire, and the failure of their attempt[62]. New machines were invented[63], and again consumed; while Richard, confined

[60] Vinesauf, 331. Bohadin, p. 165. The Arab says of him, "He was renowned for his valour, his greatness of mind and firm constancy, which many battles had made illustrious, and for his daring intrepidity. In point of dignity and dominion he was esteemed by them inferior to the king of France, but more abundant in wealth, and far more celebrated for his warlike virtues."

[61] Philip had distributed to his knights three pieces of gold a month, which filled the army with his commendations: Richard, hearing of it, sent heralds to proclaim that he would give four, and became immediately the most popular prince at the siege. Vines. 332.

[62] Vines. 333. Bohadin, 167.

[63] They are called Belfreys—cats, because they

confined to his bed by his fever, moaned heavily his restraint. His stone artillery was particularly distinguished for its activity and power, both in shaking the walls and destroying their defenders[64]. Still disabled by his disease, yet impatient to partake the fray, having caused a strong walled edifice to be made and pushed to the trenches, within which his engineers might operate with some protection, Richard was carried thither upon a silken mattress, and from that pointed and discharged himself his own balista, killing many Turks by the darts and arrows he sent among them. His sappers were also at work under his eye. He stimulated the desperate exertions of his followers, by promising four pieces of gold for every stone which they could pull from the walls. Still the foremost himself, observing one of the Turks parading on the fortifications in the armour of a celebrated Christian knight, who had fallen, he aimed his own weapon with that strength and certainty, that the javelin it projected, buried itself in his bosom[65].

Acre taken.

The fury of his assaults, seconded by the general ardour of all the besiegers, at last compelled the surrender of the city; and Saladin, who had consented to it, made a truce with the Christian kings, and indignantly retired from its vicinity, meditating his future revenge[66].

King of France leaves Palestine.

In the summer, the king of France astonished and afflicted the army

they cling to the walls like cats—and Cercleys. Vin. 335. Bohadin describes the cats as large instruments, made of four compartments, of wood, lead, iron, and brass, which would support many men on the walls. p. 167.

[64] One of the stones it threw was taken to Saladin for his observation: It had killed twelve men. Vin. 335. Richard requesting a friendly interview with Saladin, the sultan answered, "Kings should not meet but to treat of peace. It is indecorous that they should feast and converse, and then go out to fight." Bohad 169. Saladin never committed enmity against the man to whom he had given bread and salt.

[65] Vines. 338. Richard's sister had two Mussulmen servants, who had lived with her in Sicily: they now escaped to Saladin, and were well received. Bohad. 170.

[66] Vines. 341, 342. Boh. 173—179. The siege had lasted nine months.

army by declaring his intention to return to Europe. His plea of diminished health, was not deemed an adequate excuse, but no solicitations, even of his own people, availed. He swore friendship and peace to Richard, and, leaving a division of Frenchmen under his command, sailed away to Tyre, and thence to his own ports[67].

Saladin, re-animated by this subtraction from the Christian force, refused to fulfil the conditions of the late armistice. Richard allowed his rage, at the violation of the compact, to become ferocious cruelty: he ordered the 2700 Turks, who had been left as hostages for Saladin's fulfilment of his treaty, to be brought out and deliberately killed[68]. Pledged by this action to an implacable warfare with the Turkish sultan, he prepared to wage it with effect. He drew out all his forces from the city, and encamped on the surrounding plains, that they might be all alert to attack or repel the enemy, who now began to hover round. It was his custom to be always out first on these incursions, and his presence was never ineffective[69].

These

[67] Vin. 343, 344. Rigordus ascribes his retreat to his jealousy, that Richard was exchanging presents with Saladin. De Gest. Phil. p. 192.

[68] Vines. 346. Bohadin, 183. The Arab admits the sultan's tergiversations. He describes the slaughtered Turks as so many martyrs; and mentions one rumoured cause of the massacre to be a dread of leaving so many enemies behind. It was an action like Bonaparte's massacre at Jaffa—equally horrible and indefensible.

[69] Vines. 347. Saladin, in retaliation for the scene at Acre, beheaded all the prisoners that fell into his hands. Bohad. 187, 188. His conference with one of them displays a picture of the exigency; Bohadin seems to have been present. "A knight was taken, whose demeanour announced the nobleman. He was asked by Saladin as to the state of their provisions—'Since the first day of our leaving Acre, their scarcity has increased their price one-third.' "Why do you move so slow?" 'Because we wait for our fleet, which carries our supplies.' "How many of yours have been killed or wounded to-day?" 'A great many.' "How many horses have perished to-day?" 'Four hundred.' The sultan then directed his head to be struck off, but to omit the mutilation of his body. He asked of his interpreter, what Saladin had ordered—"Your death."—Greatly affected, he cried out, 'But I saved one of your countrymen at Acre.' "Was it an emir?" said Saladin—'I was not rich enough to redeem an emir.'—They interceded for him. His desire of life, and beautiful person (for I never, adds Bohadin, saw any man more handsome, and with eyes breathing such softness and delicacy) interested the sultan, and he was permitted

These movements were but prelusive to a decisive struggle. His army, above 30,000 men, seduced by the enervating luxuries of the city, were averse to obey his energetic orders to proceed to a sterner duty. Roused at last from their lethargy, they began their march to Ascalon, the next goal of Richard's ambition. As they wound through the narrow passes of their way, the Turkish army rushed on their rear-guard, hoping to cut it off. It became endangered: but Richard, advertised of the crisis, flew with all the rapidity of his courser's speed to the point of danger, prostrating all who withstood him. The army was extricated by his personal exertions, and Saladin thought fit to decline a general engagement[70].

Richard marches into Palestine.

Saladin confined himself to harassing Richard in the strong positions which the country afforded. Richard advanced cautiously along the sea-shore, towards Cesarea. His final object was Jerusalem; and every night that he encamped, before his army went to sleep, a herald with a strong voice was sent through the lines, to exclaim, "Help the Holy Sepulchre!" Three times was the supplication uttered, and every warrior, each time holding up his hands to heaven, repeated the petition with impassioned tones and tears in universal chorus[71].

His march was vigilantly tracked by the never-wearied Saladin, with destructive activity. Assailed at every practicable point, not even

His plan of march.

permitted to remain in his presence, but in fetters. Presently Saladin upbraided him with the perfidy of his friends, and the massacre at Acre. He owned it to be abominable, but that it was perpetrated by the king's own will and express command. Saladin, having finished his afternoon prayers, mounted his horse and rode out as usual. He came back—and ordered the knight to be killed, with two others." Bohad. 188. This cool and deliberate cruelty to an individual who had interested him, and because the Turk he had saved was of inferior rank to himself, displays a narrowness of heart not less offensive than Richard's political murder.

[70] Vines. 349, 350.

[71] Vines. 351. The crusading historian complains much of the tarantulas that infested them in these parts. They thought noises drove them away, and that theriaca cured their wounds.

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even Richard's skill and valour could prevent perpetual losses. To make his army more disposable for rapid services, he divided it into twelve great divisions, and these again into five battalions, and appointed his best warriors to the commands of the several portions, that an adequate force might be readily applicable to every exigency. The pressure of the enemy compelled them to march in columns so close, that an apple thrown above them, says Vinesauf, must have fallen upon a soldier or a horse. In this denseness the main body and the baggage proceeded; while Richard, to whom fighting was a delight, took his station with the more able troops, in the rear, ready to dart on every enemy that appeared[72].

The talents of Richard as the general, equalled his prowess as the soldier. Though closely followed by Saladin, a commander of unquestioned ability and enterprise, and whom twenty active campaigns had taught all the arts of warfare, with an immense superiority of force, and with the population of the region in his favour; yet such were Richard's dispositions and vigilance, that, even when moving through a difficult country, his enemy could gain no other advantages than cutting off a few stragglers occasionally in his rear. His best panegyric is the description of his march by the Arab enemy, who witnessed and applauds it[73].

A conference

[72] Vines. 354. Bohadin has inserted in his History, an interesting journal of Saladin's watchful, active, and wary accompaniment of Richard's progress, 184—199.

[73] "The sixth day, the sultan rose at dawn, as usual, and heard from his brother that the enemy was in motion. They had slept that night in suitable places about Cesarea. They were now dressing, and taking their food. A second messenger announced, that they had begun their march. Our brazen drum was sounded; all were alert. The sultan came out, and I accompanied him to their army. He surrounded them with chosen troops, and gave the signal for attack. The archers were drawn out, and a heavy shower of arrows on both sides descended. The enemy advanced, but hedged round with his infantry, like a wall. These were covered with thick-strung pieces of cloth, fastened together with rings, so as to resemble dense coats of mail. Hence, though they were overwhelmed with our arrows, yet their progress was not impeded. I saw with my own eyes

Great battle near Jaffa.

A conference between Richard and Aladil, the Turkish prince deputed by Saladin to meet him, having failed, upon the stern refusal of the Mussulman to surrender the countries conquered from the Christians, which Richard required[74]; and the Turks having now been joined by the forces they had expected; Saladin prepared to prostrate his martial competitor by one decisive blow. Richard had now entered the land of Zuph near Jaffa[75], when the attack began. The assault of the Turks was terrific. The Bedouin Arabs, distinguished by their round shields and darker countenances, were equally destructive. The Turks rushed on in separate divisions. Their trumpets, drums, horns and cymbals, preceded their emirs, inciting the courage of the men by their tremendous vociferation; and the men, by the most frightful howlings, striving to intimidate the Christian army. Richard received the attack with his infantry in close and dense array. The Turks covered the plain around them like enveloping clouds; their arrows and missiles darkened the air like wintry hail. The English perished on all sides; and the Knights Hospitallers, falling in great numbers, implored the king to let them sally out, and charge. Richard commanded

eyes several, who had not one or two, but ten darts sticking in their backs, and yet marched on with a calm and cheerful step, without any trepidation. On their parts, they darted a heavier species of weapon, which wounded both our men and horses. They had besides a division of infantry in reserve, to relieve and aid those who should be weary, and which, marching close to the sea-shore, could not be molested. When the fighters were exhausted by fatigue or wounds, this body advanced, and combated till the others were refreshed. Their cavalry in the meantime kept in the middle, and never moved beyond the infantry, unless when they rushed out to charge. In vain we tempted them to spread into the array of battle: they steadily restrained themselves, and kept their close order, slowly cutting their way, and protecting their baggage with wonderful perseverance." Bohad. p. 190. Could a Wellington have safely conducted an inferior army with all its baggage, on a continuous march through a hostile country, and surrounded by a powerful enemy, with more judgment and success?

[74] Bohadin relates this conference, p. 193.

[75] Vinesauf calls it Arsur, Bohadin Arsoph. It is clear, from what the Arab afterwards mentions of Richard's retiring to Jaffa, and Saladin to Ramla, after the battle, that the struggle took place between these towns, and in the district marked in the map as the Terra Zuph.

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commanded them to be firm and patient. The Turks, emboldened by their passiveness, and having exhausted their quivers, rushed on with clubs and swords to closer slaughter. Again the Christians murmur at being restrained; but Richard calmly waited till the impetuosity and confidence of the Turks had urged them into disorder. His appointed signal was the sounding of six trumpets, two in the front, two in the rear, two in the middle, of his army. When the critical moment, in his judgment, came, the trumpets echoed; his infantry on all sides opened their ranks; and his cavalry of knights, in determinate squadrons, darted like lightning out on every flank, and rushed upon the dismayed Turks with an effect that could neither be foreseen nor resisted. In a moment the victory was torn from their grasp. In every part they were overthrown and destroyed; in every part a withering panic spread; in vain the brazen drum was sounded without intermission, to rally and invigorate; in vain Saladin, braving every danger, flew from point to point, entreating, upbraiding, commanding. Richard, still more alert, still more terrible, having discharged the duty of the general, now displayed his unequalled valour as the soldier, and mowed down the bravest warriors of the Turks, wherever he turned his steed. Nothing could resist his blows; no one whom he approached, could escape his sword; if in parts they rallied, it was to perish when he came. His knights emulated, though they could not parallel his peculiar prowess, and the Sultan at last was compelled to seek his safety in flight[76]. His emirs ascribed his defeat principally to a dreadful knight, whom no one could resist, and who was called by his own people Melech Ric, or King Ric[77]. Saladin

[76] Vinesauf, 354—361, and Bohadin, 194—198, harmonize very well in their descriptions of this battle. See Richard's official account of it, Hoveden, p. 698.

[77] Vinesauf, 362. Melech is the Arabic for king. Richard was at that time pronounced Rickard, as the old ballad on Richard, brother of Henry III. shews —

Richard! thah thou be ever trichard,
Trichten shalt thou never more.

Percy's Ancient Reliques, vol. 2. p. 3.

Saladin collected the broken remains of his army at Ramla, and ordered all his inferior fortresses to be destroyed. Richard proceeded triumphantly to Jaffa, and thence to Ascalon, which had, he found, been hastily dismantled.

Richard's further exploits.

This victory gave Richard the command of the sea coast. He built or restored several fortresses near it, and some minor skirmishes ensued with the Turks. Once going out with his falcons, to course, he fell into an ambush, from which he was only rescued by one of his knights calling out, that he was the Melech or King, and suffering himself to be taken, while Richard escaped[78]. At Another time, when a party of the Templars were foraging, 4,000 Turkish cavalry surrounded them. The king being at hand with a few knights, sent them to assist, promising to follow, while he armed himself. The vast superiority of the enemy put every one into the greatest personal peril. They fled, pursued by the Turks; and Richard was advised to escape. His countenance paled with anger at the counsel. "If I do not assist the dear friends I sent forward, with an assurance that I would join them, and they should perish, I will never usurp the name of a king again." He rushed on the Turks with that intrepidity and power that always distinguished him—now here, now there, wherever danger most pressed, his sword was seen descending with unexampled rapidity. Heads, hands and arms, are described to have flown off as he struck. At length one of the most renowned emirs appeared before him, but perished like the rest. His astonishing bravery, or, what his secretary calls his incredible victory, preserved both himself and his friends[79].

He stops in his march to Jerusalem.

After some delays and negociations, he advanced towards Jerusalem. But the atmosphere now fought against him. The rains

[78] Vines. 364.—William de Pratelles was the name of this loyal hero.

[79] Vines. 367.

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rains descended with unmitigated severity. Showers of hail, and tempestuous winds, raged with such fury, that his tents were torn from their stakes, and carried away. His horses perished from cold and wet; his twice-baked bread, and his bacon, spoilt; their weapons and armour became covered with rust; their clothes were injured; and disease began to attenuate their force. His wisest warriors, observing their diminution of strength, recommended the attack on Jerusalem to be deferred, and Ascalon, as an intermediate point, to be first rebuilt. It was obvious that if Richard should take Jerusalem, he had not men enow to garrison it. The greatest part of the French now left him. He yielded to the necessity, and paused at Ascalon; where the weather still continued adverse, and famine began to appear[80].

Conrad, the Defender of Tyre, contended with the dethroned Guy for the Christian kingdom of Palestine. This dissension weakened Richard's strength. Suddenly Conrad was assassinated in the streets of Tyre. This catastrophe inflamed every evil feeling in the country: the French accused Richard of the murder[81]; and the imputation, though unjust, was accredited by his enemies.

Richard meditates to return.

Richard continued his war in Palestine, always repressing the Turks, and enlarging the Christian territory; when he was alarmed by tidings that his brother John, supported by the king of France, was machinating to seize his Norman duchy or his English throne.

[80] Vinesauf, 363—375.

[81] Vines. 386, 387. He was killed by two emissaries of the Old Man of the Mountains. Bohadin says, that being asked who suborned them, they answered, "The king of England." p. 225. But to make this charge might have been a part of their employment. The daring temper of Richard was too frank and gallant to use assassination. Hoveden, a contemporary, declares their answer to have been, That the king of the Hassassins had employed them. p. 716. The most elaborate account of this singular people is in Falconet's Essays, in the Memoires Acad. Inscrip. vol. 26. p. 202—276. They were a species of Mahomedan dissenters, existing both in Persia and Syria, obeying their Sheikh, or Old Man, whose orders they implicitly executed.

throne[82]. He resolved to return home, but yielded to the solicitations of the crusaders, to conduct them first to Jerusalem. His name and presence spread terror as he advanced; but, before he reached it, the more novel idea of invading Babylonia, diverted him from the sacred city. He captured a caravan of unusual multitudes, and with an immense booty[83]. The people clamoured for Jerusalem. But it was said that the Turks had destroyed the aqueducts, and that Siloa's Brook, which flowed round the Mount of Olives, would not suffice so large an army. For reasons not clearly expressed, but probably from his desire to revisit England, Richard was not intent on the conquest of Jerusalem. He stopped at Bethany, within four miles of the city, and chose afterwards to retrograde. The duke of Burgundy wrote a satire on Richard's conduct, and Richard retaliated by a poetical invective[84].

His last great battle.

Saladin profited by the king's recession, to attack Jaffa. This movement roused him to one more exertion. With his usual energy he flew to the endangered city, and chased Saladin away[85]. The Sultan attempted a night-surprise. He had nearly succeeded. Richard was scarcely waked in time to escape being taken; but he soon armed himself, and collected enow about him to second his own extraordinary prowess, and check the panic that was spreading. The most perilous conflict took place that he had yet endured—a conflict remarkable for one trait of Saracen chivalry. Saphadin, the brother of Saladin, had sought and received knighthood from Richard, for his son[86]. In the night-attack,

[82] Vines. 395.—He gave Cyprus to the deposed Guy of Lusignan, the rex sine regno. Vines. 392. Thus ending the competition between him and Conrad.

[83] Vines. 405—407. Bohadin, p. 231. It was conducted by 11,000 Saracens. Richard attacked it with 5,000. Hoved. 716.

[84] Vines. 409. See on Richard's retrogression, Bohadin, 235—237.

[85] Vines. 411—415. Bohadin, 244—251. The Arabian author says he saw Richard's approach: "The first ship was the king's; it was all red, and was distinguished by its red sail." p. 251.

[86] Vines. 380. This was a strong proof of the Turkish estimation of Richard.

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attack, meeting the king unhorsed, he gave him two fine coursers for his immediate service[87]. Richard gratefully received the important generosity, used them to rally his scattering troops, and restore the battle. So severe was the conflict, that he is described as appearing with his armour stuck full of lances, and his horse's trappings with darts. His unexampled exertions at last repulsed the Turks, and saved his army[88]. But the extraordinary fatigue he underwent, brought on a slow fever, which compelled a suspension of all military movements. He proposed to Saladin a truce for three years. The Sultan agreed to it, declaring such an esteem for Richard's magnanimity and virtues, that he would rather see the contested country under his dominion than of any other power[89]. The armistice completed, and every royal civility exchanged, the king sailed to Europe, leaving a reputation among the Mussulmen which long survived himself[90]. His departure was soon succeeded by the death of Saladin[91].

He leaves Palestine.

The hour approached in which Richard was to drink the cup of adversity and disgrace to the very dregs. Philip had sailed in state sufficient to command every where respect and safety, and

[87] Vines. 419. [88] Ibid. 417—420.

[89] Ibid. 423. For Bohadin's account of the peace, see him, p. 260.—This author gives a pleasing trait of the courteous intercourse between Saladin and Richard. The king was fond of pears and peaches, and, during his illness, he often sent to ask Saladin for them, and for snow. The sultan always supplied them liberally. p. 257.

[90] The proof of this appears in the anecdote told by Joinville. He mentions that Richard was so dreaded by the Saracens, that when their children cried, their mothers would quiet them by crying, "Hush! hush! king Richard's coming for you." So if any of their horses startled, the riders would exclaim, "Do you think you see king Richard." Mem. de Joinville, seconde partie, p. 35. ed. Lond. 1785. That a Frenchman, whose sovereign was an unfortunate crusader, should relate this tradition of an English prince, is at least an indication that he believed it.

[91] Bohadin's account of his sultan's last moments is very interesting, and concludes his Work, p. 272—278. Sir James Burgess is the only Englishman who has noticed the fitness of the actions of Richard for Epic poetry. His "Palestine" is the first poem that has appeared on this national and interesting subject.

and his voyage was prosperous[92]. Richard made the same preparations, and on the 25th October 1192, embarked on the Mediterranean Sea, with his queen, sister, and nobles, in an adequate fleet. But unusual tempests soon arose. Some were shipwrecked; some cast naked on shore, with the loss of all their treasure; a few only weathered the continual storms[93]. Tossed for six weeks continually on the waves, Richard, separated from his queen and fleet, found himself within three days sail of Marseilles. He learnt that plans were forming on the French coast to seize him; and with a desperate stake of courage against contingency, he resolved to attempt to cross Germany in disguise[94].

His dangerous journey by land.

He turned back his sails to Corfu. His ship was boarded by pirates ineffectually. The king admired their courage, and hired their vessels to take him to Zara[95], with Baldwin of Betun, and his companions. He concealed his own dignity under the name of Hugh the Merchant. Their beards and hair had grown neglectedly, and they wore pilgrims' garments[96]. Arrived at a town, which seems to have been Goritz, it was necessary to solicit peace and a passport from the chieftain of the province. He happened to be the nephew of Conrad, who had been stabbed in the streets of Tyre. The king had purchased three precious rubies from a merchant of Pisa, for nine hundred besances: one of

[92] Hoveden gives a curious journal of his voyage, which contains the wild traditions of the natives to account for the stormy state of the Asiatic Gulf, near which Philip sailed. p. 709.

[93] The most detailed and interesting narrative of Richard's captivity is in the MS. Chronicle of Joannes de Oxenedes, monachus St. Benedicti de Hulmo, in the Cotton Library, Nero D. 2. It differs in some points from the common accounts, and adds several new circumstances. I have stated it in the text, from its apparent authenticity. The author of the Chronicle says, that one of the king's companions was the chaplain Anselm, "*who related all these things to us, as he saw and heard.*"—Matthew Paris has some of the particulars.

[94] Oxenedes MS.

[95] Oxenedes says Gazara. I presume this to be Zara. Hoveden has Gazere apud Raguse, p. 717. Zara is to the north of Ragusa.

[96] His companions were, besides Baldwin, Philip, his clericus (perhaps secretary;) Anselm, his chaplain; and some Knights Templars. Oxenedes MS.

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of these he fixed in a gold ring, and consulting only his native liberality, he sent it to the chieftain as a present, when he asked his protection. The chieftain was startled at the value of the gift, and asked who the persons were that sought his passport. He was answered, "Pilgrims returning from Jerusalem." He inquired their names: "Baldwin of Betun," was the answer, "but the man who sent the ring, was Hugh, a merchant[97]." "These are not the gifts of merchants," was the idea that crossed his mind, as he contemplated the jewel, which he did for a long time. "This must be king Richard." His celebrity was too great not to have diffused every where the news of his unfortunate voyage. The chieftain sent back a courteous message. But Richard felt that the suspicion was in fact discovery, and that his safety was compromised: in the middle of the night he mounted his horse, and with his attendants set off to Friesach in Styria. The chief dispatched a messenger to his brother, who was lord of this country, informing him that Richard was in his domains. The brother sent a confidential knight, who had married his niece, a Norman by birth, to scrutinize every part where pilgrims were entertained, and to discover the king by his language or manners, promising him half the town if he succeeded[98]. The knight went from inn to inn, and at last met a person he suspected to be the king. By ingenious questions, he satisfied himself of the fact, and with earnest prayers and even tears avowed his knowledge, and entreated Richard to reveal himself. The king threw off his disguise, and the

[97] Oxenedes MS. The emperor's letter states the chieftain's name to be Mainardus de Gortze. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. 1. p. 71. This authorizes a conjecture, that Goritz a little above Trieste was the scene of this incident, as the emperor places his first appearance on the Continent between Venice and Aquileia. The situation of Goritz corresponds with this account.—Eight of the king's knights were taken here.

[98] Oxenedes MS. This place must have been Friesach, a town in Styria, on the confines of Saltzburg. The emperor says it was a burgum of the archbishop of Saltzburg qui vocatur Frisorum.

the old Norman knight, sacrificing his interest to his patriotic sympathy, acquainted Richard with his danger, compelled his immediate departure, and gave him a valuable steed. Returning to his lord, he ridiculed the supposition of the king passing that way, and told him it was only Baldwin and his companions. The chief, in rage at his disappointment, ordered them to be all apprehended[99]. The king travelled on with speed and secrecy, accompanied by only one knight, and a lad who understood German. Three days and nights he travelled without food, not daring to stop or ask for it, and intent only on his escape.

He arrives near Vienna.

Pressed at last by hunger, he paused at a town near Vienna, on the Danube[100]. Unfortunately, the duke of Austria was there. The lad was sent to the market for provisions. He shewed too many pieces of gold, and talked with an importance which roused the curiosity of the townsmen. They inquired who he was. He answered, the servant of a rich merchant who had arrived there. The interrogation alarmed the boy: he returned secretly to his master, related what had passed, and advised him not to stay. But the king had now become so exhausted by his fatigues and vexations, that he resolved to remain some time in the place, to refresh himself, at every hazard. He chose an obscure cottage for his dwelling. The want of necessaries compelled him to send the lad frequently to the market to buy them. Safety induced carelessness; and one day, the 21st December, he went incautiously out with the king's gloves in his girdle. Their appearance was not mercantile: they caught the eye of the magistrates of the place. The boy was seized, and put to torture; he was whipped; his tongue was drawn from his mouth, with a menace

[99] Oxenedes MS. The emperor, says Frederick of Botesowe, took here six of the king's knights, the king himself escaping at night. Rymer, p. 71.

[100] The Austrian Chronicle calls this place Erpurch, near Vienna. Chron. Zwetl. ap. Austr. Script. 1. p. 532.

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menace of dividing it. Other sufferings were applied, till the truth was extorted from him[101]. The duke of Austria immediately surrounded the dwelling with a band of armed men, who called out to Richard to surrender. Their clamours roused the unsuspecting king. He looked at their numbers; he perceived defence to be useless; but he sternly declared, that he would surrender to no one but the duke.

His captivity;

On this intimation, the duke presented himself. The king advanced a little to meet him, and then delivered up his sword, hoping to experience the right of courteous hospitality. The duke received it with respect, and conducted the king with honour to his habitation. With this theatrical ceremony his civilities ceased. The bravest knights of Austria were appointed to be the king's keepers, who, with their drawn swords, watched him day and night[102]. The duke apprised the emperor of his important capture, but kept him concealed till the Passion week following, when he sold him to the German sovereign for sixty thousand pounds of silver. The emperor determined to extort an immoderate ransom; but to secure it, had him conveyed to a castle in the Tyrol, from which escape was hopeless[103].

The first suspicion in England of the disaster was excited by the arrival of his companions, whom the storm had separated from him, inquiring after his safety[104]. The emperor communicated it to Philip[105]. But it was an information not likely to be immediately imparted to the English government, which Philip projected to disturb. The truth gradually became known, and the disinterested part of Europe were indignant, that a crusader returning from

[101] Oxenedes MS.

[102] Oxenedes MS. The Austrian Chronicle says he was delivered to the lord Hadmar, of Chunring, to be kept in Tyernsteign. Chron. Zwetl. p. 532.

[103] In Tirualli. Oxened. MS.

[104] Hoveden.

[105] See his letter in Rymer, 1. p. 71.

from his sacred enterprise, should by any Christian prince be arrested and imprisoned. His mother wrote three earnest letters to the Pope, soliciting his interference, as the father of Christendom, to obtain her son's release[106]. The German clergy were also appealed to[107]. The emperor felt the disgrace which he had incurred, and endeavoured to justify himself, by charging Richard with crimes; these were, his behaviour in Sicily, his conquest of Cyprus, and the alleged murder of Conrad. Every effort was made to vindicate him from the last, the most degrading charge, and a letter, purporting to be from the Old Man of the Mountains, the chief of the Hassassins, was produced, exonerating Richard from the imputation[108]. The English ministry exerted themselves. The most able prelates, and among these the regent bishop, went to the Continent, and bargained for his ransom. He was removed, after their exertions, from the dungeon in the Tyrol, to the emperor's residence at Haguenau[109], and thence to Worms, guarded with the greatest jealousy. No friend was suffered to stay with him after daylight, and a strong military power always environed him. During the whole of his captivity, he preserved his usual hilarity: he joked with his keepers, sported with their occasional inebriety, and sometimes condescended to exert his uncommon strength of body for their amusement[110].

His

[106] See them in Rymer, 1. p. 72—78. They are written with a considerable attempt at eloquence, but they exhibit more rhetoric than feeling.

[107] Peter Blessensis' letter to his schoolfellow, the archbishop of Mentz, on this subject, contains a pun which may illustrate the doctrine of an ingenious lecturer, That passion does not exclude punning: "nobis in germana Germania hæc mala germinant universis." 1 Rymer, p. 79.

[108] Rymer has preserved this.—M. de la Ravaliere, whom Mr. Gibbon follows, decries it as spurious. 8 Hist. Acad. Inscript. p. 268. The suspicious date from the papal æra may have been added by the translator of the Arabic original.

[109] See Richard's letter to his mother, Hoveden, 726. He says he was received at Haguenau by the emperor and empress with great honour, and presented with many gifts.

[110] Oxenedes MS. The pretty tale, of Blondel the minstrel travelling over Europe

to

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His brother John endeavoured to profit by his captivity. He made his feudal submission to Philip; and by circulating false assertions of Richard's death, attempted, but ineffectually, to seize his English crown[111].

His release.

The negociations for Richard's ransom, ended in the agreement that one hundred thousand marks of silver should be paid for his liberation. The sum was raised by a general taxation, that included the clergy. The base intrigues of John and Philip protracted awhile the king's emancipation. Released at length, at Mentz, he passed with speed to Cologne, and thence to Antwerp, where he embarked in an English ship, and arrived at Sandwich 20th March 1194, after an imprisonment of a year, six weeks, and three days[112]. He thought it necessary to be crowned again.

His subsequent reign, and death.

The remainder of his reign is of small importance: bickerings and wars with his brother John and with Philip, disquieted and consumed it[113]. Philip was not equal to Richard in personal prowess, but he was a monarch of great talents and policy: he kept Richard at bay, and consolidated the power of France[114].

With power to disturb the world from his vast possessions, Henry II. had not the warlike capacity. Richard possessed, in a preeminent

to find out Richard's place of captivity; and of his singing near a castle part of a lay they had often sung together, which Richard by finishing, discovered to the minstrel where he was; rests only on the authority of an old chronique François; perhaps a prose romance, which Fauchet saw, and from which he narrates it in his Recueil, p. 92.

[111] Hoveden, 724.

[112] Hoveden, 728—735. For his ransom, every knights-fee paid twenty shillings; all laymen paid the fourth of their rents; all the churches gave up their plate and treasures: some of the clergy paid a fourth, and some a tenth of their incomes. Ib. 731. Out of this money, the walls of Vienna were built. Leob Chron. ap. Austr. Script. p. 798, and Arenp. Chron. ib. p. 1204.

[113] One of the most remarkable events of this struggle was the battle of Gisors, in which Richard says, that with *one* lance he prostrated and took three knights, and made the king of France drink of the river.—See his letter, 1 Rymer, p. 96.

[114] See his Life in the Gesta of Rigordus, his historiographer, and in the long hexameter panegyric of Guillermus Brito, both contemporaries.

a preeminent degree, all the military requisites; but in the first part of his reign they were diverted into the plains of Palestine; their operation was afterwards arrested by his captivity; and England was so exhausted of her bullion, by his ransom and attendant expenditure, that the royal ambition was fettered by pecuniary necessities. If he had lived, the growing prosperity of the country would have replenished his treasury. But in the tenth year of his reign, he was wounded in the shoulder by an arrow from a cross-bow, in an inglorious siege of an inconsiderable castle, defended against him by a Limosin baron. It was not immediately mortal, but the wound gangrened, and he died a few days afterwards, having displayed the magnanimity of pardoning the soldier who had shot him, though glorying in the deed[115]. His generous intentions were frustrated by the execrable cruelty of the commander of his Flemish mercenaries, who violated his master's dying forgiveness, by ordering the offender to be flayed alive.

1199.

Thus perished a sovereign, who with a mind naturally acute[116], and

Effects of his reign.

[115] Richard, on the capture of the castle, had meant to have dealt severely by the man; but his reply, when asked by the king, why he had shot him, "With your hand you killed my father and my two brothers: I am willing to suffer the greatest torment you can inflict, so that you die, who have caused so many evils to mankind," startled Richard into a recollection of his own violent life, and that his fate was but a just retribution. Hoveden, 791.

[116] Camden, in his Remains, p. 200. has collected some of Richard's smart sayings, which the chroniclers have recorded. When he sold the earldom of Northumberland to the bishop of Durham, he said, with a laugh, "Am I not cunning to make a young earl out of an old bishop."—To a Frenchman, who told him he had three daughters, whom he must part with, pride, avarice, and voluptuousness—he answered, "Then I give to the Knights Templars my pride; to the Carmelites my avarice; and to the Clergy my voluptuousness."—Having taken a bishop prisoner in a skirmish, and put him into fetters, the prelates complained to the Pope, who desired Richard not to detain in prison his dear son in the faith: The king sent the pope the armour in which the bishop had been taken, with this message, "We found him in this dress: see whether it be your son's coat, or not." The pontiff jocosely replied, "No, not my son's, but some imp of Mars, who may deliver him if he can, I will not interfere."—When his brother John besought his pardon, for revolting from him, he exclaimed, "May I as easily forget your offence, as you will that you have offended."

and with powers of body rarely equalled, yet became little else than a wild romantic warrior. His personal exploits resembled those of the fabled Amadis. His life was useful in arresting the Turkish power, when it was becoming again dangerous to the liberties of Europe; but, that end accomplished, this renowned and redoubted prince became comparatively insignificant, affording to the world another example—how little military ambition benefits a nation, or blesses its possessor. Richard, the dread of the Mahomedan and Christian world, only drained and impoverished his own country, and alarmed his neighbours. He added nothing to our civilization or prosperity. His best intellectual feature was his poetical tendency, of which he has left some memorials, not uninteresting[117]. He may be truly called one of those thunderbolts of war, which astonish by their blaze, but soon disappear, and destruction is the only token by which we know that they have existed.

[117] One of his poetical productions was this Sirvente, which he made in Germany:

"No prisoner can speak justly of his misfortune without grief; yet, for his solace, he may make a song. He may have friends, but how poor are their gifts! They should feel shame, that two winters have passed without my ransom.

"My English, Norman, Gascon, Poitou barons! I have had no companion so miserable, whose deliverance I would not have purchased. I will not reproach you, but I am still a prisoner.

"It is indeed true, that a dead man has neither relations nor friends; since to save some gold and silver, I am abandoned. I am suffering from my misfortunes; but I suffer more from the want of feeling in my subjects. How reproachful to them, if I should die in captivity!

"I am not surprised that I should grieve. My feudal sovereign is ravaging my lands, although we swore to respect each other's possessions. But one thing consoles me, I will not be slow in taking my revenge.

"Chail and Pensavin! my minstrels! my friends! I have loved you; I love you now. Sing, that my enemies will have little glory in attacking me; that I have not shewn to them a heart false and perfidious. That they will act like real vilains if they war against me while I am in prison.

"Lady Soir! Heaven guard your sovereign merit; and her's, whom I claim, and to whom I am a captive."

The other poem of his that has been preserved is a Sirvente against the Dauphin of Auvergne, and his cousin, whose alliance against the French king, Richard had solicited in vain.

"Dauphin! and Count Gui! answer me. Where is the martial ardour you displayed in our league against our common enemy? You gave me your faith, and you keep it as the wolf did to the fox, whom you resemble in your red locks. You have ceased to aid

aid me, because you fear your services will not be paid. You know there is no money at Chinon.

"You seek the alliance of a rich and vaillant king, faithful to his word. You dread my cowardice and parsimony, and you fall to the other side. Remember the adventure of Issoire. Are you satisfied with losing that place? Will you raise soldiers to avenge the usurpation? Whatever you do, Richard with his banner in his hand will shew you that he is no contemptible foe.

"I have seen you formerly in love with magnificence: But now the desire of building strong castles, makes you abandon the ladies and your gallantry. You frequent no more courts and tournaments. Beware of the French: They are Lombards in their dealings.

"Go, Sirvente, go to Auvergne, whither I send thee. Say to the two counts, from me, that if they will keep in peace, may God bless them. Who cares if a low man fails in his word? Can we reckon on the faith of a squire? The future will teach them, that they have chosen wrong."—Hist. Troub. v. 1. pp. 58—65.

The Provençal original of the first Sirvente begins thus:

Ja nus hom pris non dira sa raison
Adreitament se com hom dolent nom;
Ma per conort, pot il faire chanson.
Pro a d'amis, mas poure son lì dont,
Onta i auron se por ma reezon
Soi fait dos yver pris. p. 59.

It is but justice to the memory of Richard, to insert the elegy upon him by the Troubadour, Gaucelm Faidit, whom he had patronized:

"Cruel event! Never have I had so great a loss; never have I suffered an affliction so severe. I ought to weep and groan for ever. The chief and father of valour is my theme; the gallant Richard is dead!

"A thousand years may pass away, before a man so knightly will appear. Never will there be his equal in bravery, in magnificence, in generosity: No, not even Alexander, the conqueror of Darius, exhibited a liberality so noble. Charles and Arthur could not compete with him. He was the dread of one part of the world, and the admiration of the other.

"I wonder how, in an age so false and perfidious as this, a man so wise and courteous could arise. Since glorious actions serve for nothing, why make such great exertions? Death has shewn its malice. In striking Richard, it has robbed the world of all its honor, all its joy, all its wealth. If nothing can protect us from it, why should we fear the grave?

"Ah, Sire! valorous Sovereign! Where now will be our arms, our tournaments, the splendid court, and the magnificent gift, since you are now no more, who were the chief in all. What now will become of the servants whom your bounty fed? of those whom you raised to fortune and to glory? There is nothing left for them but the tomb." Hist. Troub. 1. p. 367—369.

The popular tales on Richard, which are sufficiently grotesque and amusing, may be seen in the old English Romance on him printed by Mr. Weber; and in the substance of it, neatly stated by Mr. Ellis in his Specimen of our old Romances.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. XII.

THE REIGN OF JOHN, SURNAMED LACK-LAND.

1199—1216.

CHAP. XII.

His early dissipation.

THE reign of John was a series of disgraces, originating from the vices and imbecility of the sovereign. The defects of his character appeared so early in his father's life, that his clerical friend then describes him, as a prey to the follies of youth, impressible as wax to vice; rude to his better advisers; more addicted to luxury than to war, to effeminacy than to hardships; remarkable rather for juvenile levity than for the promise of that manly maturity towards which he was hastening. He is not distinguished to us by Giraldus with any of those positive excellencies which characterized his brothers. His tutor visibly looked at his future day with faint hope; he cannot say that he was equalling his elder brethren; he merely assumes, that it is impossible he should degenerate[1]. His conduct to Richard was ungrateful and perfidious. He displayed all the treachery of a crooked ambition, without any of the talents

[1] Giraldus Top. Hib. p. 753. John was then twenty years of age. Giraldus had accompanied him to Ireland, for he says in his dedication to Henry II. "It pleased you to send me from your side, with your beloved son John, to Ireland." p. 700.

talents that have sometimes emblazoned it[2]. On the unexpected death of his brother, he acquired the throne to the prejudice of his nephew; and he made his reign one continued exhibition of his moral deficiencies[3].

His conduct to Arthur.

Richard had at one time destined Arthur, the son of John's elder brother Geoffry, to succeed him[4]. On the king's death, the barons of Mans, Tours, and Anjou, appointed Arthur, then earl of Bretagne, their lord; but John asserting, however improbably, a nomination of Richard in his own favour, and Hubert the prelate of Canterbury urging the parliament to exert their right of election in preferring John, this prince was at last chosen duke of Normandy, and king of England, but with a conditional fealty, that he would restore their rights[5]. Arthur, then but twelve years old, was committed by his mother, Constance, to the care of the king of France, who claimed for him the continental possessions of the English crown. The battle of Mirebel threw him into the hands of John; and in his custody, Arthur soon disappeared[6]. That

[2] The sarcastic remark of Richard, on pardoning him, proved his unfavourable opinion of John. See before, p. 335.

[3] He had been his father's favourite.—William of Newbury says that Henry loved him tenerrime.

[4] In his treaty with Tancred, in Sicily, Richard contracted for a marriage between his daughter and Arthur, and styles the prince "our nephew and heir if we should happen to die without issue." Hoved. p. 676.

[5] Hoveden, 792. The speech of Hubert in his behalf, strenuously urging the crown of England to be elective, and that the worthiest person of the royal race ought to be chosen, (Matt. Paris, 197.) implies that the nomination of John was not generally felt to be right.—Honest Speed calls this harangue, a disloyal speech, a second seed-plot of treasons. Hist. p. 494.—Hubert's principle was constitutionally true; its application a profligate act of injustice to Arthur. The temptation to elect John seems to have been the recovery of their liberties from a king, who had no right but from the choice of Parliament.

[6] Matt. Paris says, that John, by kind words and large promises, endeavoured to detach Arthur from Philip; but the prince answering him haughtily, and claiming his crown, John was greatly disturbed, and sent him to Rheims, to be kept in close confinement, in which he suddenly vanished. He adds, "The manner of his death was unknown to all. I wish it may not be as envious fame reports." p. 208.—The genius of Shakespear makes us careless about his chronology, but Constance, his mother, died the year before Arthur. Ann. Mon. Burton, 1 Gale Script. 262.

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That he was murdered by the commands, if not by the hands of his uncle, was the belief of his contemporaries, and the probable imputation excited an indignation against John, which pursued him to his grave. At this distant period, the sudden death of Arthur in the king's custody, is all that history can avouch; we may repeat the accredited rumours of the day, but we cannot now detect their falsehood, or establish their truth[7]. The future conduct and known character of the king gave the suspicion its sharpest point.

He loses Normandy.

It suited Philip's interest and passions to believe the charge, and to diffuse it around him; for his policy had discerned the possibility of wresting Normandy from such a master, pusillanimous and indolent at least, and now unpopular and suspected. As the French armies moved on from conquest to conquest, John amused himself in wasting his nights in debauch, his days in sleep. As the messengers arrived successively with the tidings of the surrender of his castles, he merely exclaimed with a horse-laugh, "Let him take them, I will one day recover them." His chief Norman barons disdained a sovereign so degenerate, and voluntarily submitted themselves to Philip. To those who sent urgent solicitations for his assistance, he answered with indifference, that they might act as they pleased. Further disasters only drew from him absurd threats and oaths, that the English sterlings would restore all things[8]. When he roused himself to imperfect exertions, they effected little under so weak

[7] The account given by Guillermus Brito, in his Philippidos addressed to Philip's son, may be taken to be the popular tale:—It is, that John sailed in a vessel to Rouen, caused Arthur to be brought into his ship—stabbed him—severed his head—and threw his body into the sea. l. 6. p. 303.—Matthew of Westminster says, "Throughout France and the Continent, John was suspected by all to have killed him with his own hand. Hence many, averting their minds from the king, pursued him till his death with an inexorable hate. The king of France charged him with the crime." p. 79.—The king of France accused him of the murder, and had him tried at Paris for it, where he was condemned. Matt. Paris, 283.

[8] Matt. Paris, 208. Matt. Westm. 79—81. At one time he sailed with an armament from Portsmouth, and on the third day returned without any reason. M. Paris, p. 212.

weak a leader; and the termination of this disgraceful scene exhibited England and its sovereign despoiled of all the splendid inheritance and acquisitions of his father, with the single exception of the remote dutchy of Guienne[9]. This deprivation induced his contemporaries to brand him with the contumelious name of Lack-land[10].

By this important revolution, produced in a few years from the circumstance of a bad weak man obtaining the English crown against the right of the legal heir, the political situation of France and England completely changed: it was not only the subtraction of so much territory, and the consequent diminution of political strength, which England suffered; but it was also the aggrandisement of her great national rival, and the consolidation of his power by the addition of the provinces she lost. The moral retribution of the event, is also not the least remarkable feature. While the barons of Mans, Anjou, and Tours, chose Arthur for their liege lord, because his right stood upon the known and customary rules of territorial inheritance[11]; the English barons, notwithstanding the severe lesson of Stephen's usurpation, abandoned Arthur, and supported John, in contradiction to the legal custom of their landed succession, and of their Cœur de Lion's nomination.

[9] The Troubadours treated him with the contempt he deserved. The son of Bertrand de Born composed this poem upon him:

"I will make a sharp-edged Sirvente, which I will send to the king of England, to cover him with shame. Much indeed he ought to have, if he remembers the deeds of his forefathers; if he compares them with his indolence, in thus leaving Poitou and Touraine in the possession of Philip.

"All Guienne regrets Richard, who spared no treasure to defend it. But this man has no feeling. He loves jousts and hunting; to have hounds and hawks; to drawl on a life without honour, and to see himself plundered without resistance. I speak but to correct a king, who loses his subjects because he will not assist them.

"Yes, Sire! you suffer your honour to fall into the mire; and such is your infatuation, that, far from being sensible to reproach, you seem to take pleasure in the invectives with which you are loaded." Hist. Troub. 2. p. 116.

[10] This was even his foreign appellative, for Guil. Brito says of him, Fies et vives *sine terra* pluribus annis. p. 303.

[11] Hoveden, 792.

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THE REIGN OF JOHN.

nomination. Their unjust choice suffered their continental dominions to be torn from them without a struggle, and afterwards degraded both the country and himself to a degree scarcely credible, and almost unparalleled.

His contest with the Pope.

Another great event of John's reign was his contest with the Pope; a contest which had this peculiar consequence, that, while it seemed to establish the papal sovereignty in England, it commenced and ensured its annihilation. The Pope procured the crown of the island to be ceded to him in the person of his legate; but his triumph was the ruin of his power. The national disgust at the cession, and at the ambition which had exacted it, produced a change of mind among the great and enlightened public, which never ceased to spread till his commanding influence was destroyed. It is one of those memorable instances often exhibited in history, in which injustice is defeated by its success.

The election of an archbishop of Canterbury on Hubert's death, began the struggle. Some of the younger monks, of the cathedral in that city, chose secretly their superior without the king's knowledge, who recommended and procured the election of another by the convent, without the privity of the suffragan bishops of the see, who claimed also the right of choice. They appealed to the Pope against both the elections; and his confirmation was sought by the two individuals appointed[12].

The Pope at this juncture was Innocent III. a man of great ability, zealous for the exertion of the papal authority, active with all the habits of incessant business, and conscientiously ambitious. He heard in person the appeals that were made to Rome; he gave his judgments with so much equity and celerity, he explained the reasons of his decisions with such force and clearness, and it was felt to be so useful to Europe at that time to have a tribunal where

[12] M. Paris, 212—215.

where the controversies of its ecclesiastics might be finally determined with impartiality and knowledge, that disputes were referred to him from all parts of the world[13]. It was impossible for him to be inattentive to the great advantages which these appeals gave to the power of the Roman see; he felt that he enjoyed from them an universal influence, and the use of his power became more bold and aspiring from his belief of its utility, the respect with which it was submitted to, and his habit of exerting it. In the contest about the see of Canterbury, he annulled the two elections. So far he was not censurable; but he is stated to have privately urged the monks of Canterbury, who attended the appeal at Rome, to chuse another archbishop on his recommendation[14]. The individual selected, Stephen Langton, was most unexceptionable; but by such an election, the asserted rights of two of the contending parties, the king and the suffragan bishops, were arbitrarily invaded. The monks complied with his wishes, and Innocent sent letters to the king, announcing Langton as the new archbishop, and enjoining him to receive him[15].

The king received the information with all the fury, and acted with all the violence, of a weak mind. In his opposition to the papal encroachment, he had only to oppose the calm measures of dignified prudence; and he must have triumphed, for he had prescription, reason, authority, and an important part of the clergy, on his side. But wisdom was as great a stranger to the royal intellect as virtue. He consulted only his passions. He sent immediately

[13] His intellectual activity may be inferred from his vast correspondence. There are above twelve hundred of his letters still extant; of which Dupin has given a short table of contents, Eccl. Hist. 13th Century.

[14] Matt. Paris, 222.

[15] Matt. Par. 223.—If this author's judgment of the Pope be the true one (and he was both a churchman and a contemporary) nothing can be more severe: "The pope was, above all mortals, ambitious and proud; insatiably thirsting after money, and yielding like wax to every wickedness, for reward given or promised." p. 245.—The Troubadours were not more favourable to the Pope. See Hist. Troub. v. 1. p. 397.

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immediately two ferocious knights with their armed followers, to drive all the monks of Canterbury, as traitors, out of his dominions. The ministers of his wrath entered the monastery with drawn swords, and threatened to set fire to the consecrated edifice, unless they departed immediately. The prior and all the monks, except those who were too ill to move, forcibly left it, and were transported to Flanders[16]. He followed this precipitation by a letter to the Pope, too violent to be popular; and then, without any hold on his people's affection, indeed with every prejudice against him, he rushed into that warfare with the religious head of Europe, which his ablest predecessors had always found dangerous, and which he had neither character, talents, nor influence to support.

The Pope, aware of his advantages in contending against a prince of John's personal odium and imbecilities, went fearlessly on to extremes with him, hoping that he should rather gratify than provoke the nation, by humbling or punishing a person whom no one respected. He threatened an interdict. John swore that if it came he would banish all the clergy to Rome, confiscate their property, and mutilate every Roman priest of his eyes and nose[17]. The interdict was published; and conformably to its orders, divine service ceased in the churches, the bells were taken down, all ecclesiastical functions were suspended, and no one was interred in consecrated cemetaries or with religious rites. John directed his sheriffs to mark the clergy who obeyed the interdict, and to drive them from the kingdom. The incomes of the great dignitaries were confiscated. The barns of the clergy were locked up or seized, and those who were met on the highways were plundered and ill-treated. After two years contest, the Pope finding the king still unsubdued, but unpopular, ventured to the extremest step

[16] Matt. Paris, 223, 224.—In the year of this conflict, 1208, his son Henry III. was born. Ib. 225.

[17] Ib. 226.

step of his assumed authority: he excommunicated John, absolved the people from their oath of allegiance, and soon afterwards deposed him. He commissioned the king of France to take his crown, and even called on the warriors of all countries to make a crusade against him[18]. By these measures, the pontiff, consulting his pride and his passions instead of his judgment or his Bible, displayed a spirit of violence so much the counterpart of his adversary's, that his hostilities would have been unavailing if a sovereign of common decorum had been his opponent. But, no doubt, with a king of that description, no such case would have occurred. It is the nature of violence to kindle violence. Injustice begets injustice with emulous retaliation, whenever worldly feelings have the governance of our conduct. In this contest the king and the pope were equally actuated by selfish ambition and personal irritability, and their conduct was not dissimilar[19].

He resigns his crown to Pandulf.

Philip made powerful preparations to invade, and John to resist[20]. But the man whose conduct was always an outrage on common sense, closed the contest as disgracefully as he had absurdly conducted it. Though at the head of an army, of which the historian truly says, that if loyal, and their assembling proved a disposition to be so, there was no power under heaven against which England might not have been defended[21], yet he surrendered himself to the will of the Pope, and acceded to all the terms which Pandulf, his legate, exacted. At the house of the templars, near

[18] Matt. Par. 226—232. In this interval, John, by imprisonment and personal sufferings, extorted large sums of money from the Jews. He demanded ten thousand marks of one at Bristol, and ordered one of his teeth to be forced out every day, till it was paid: the Jew lost seven before he yielded. M. Paris, 229. Many Jews fled the kingdom, 230.—There was then a justiciary of the Jews, Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 8.

[19] The papal excommunications were becoming too familiar to excite their ancient intimidation. In 1199, the Pope laid France under an interdict; and in 1210, while struggling with John, he excommunicated the Emperor Otho. Matt. Paris, 198 & 229.

[20] His summonses to arms collected on Barham Downs 60,000 knights, from the dread of the menaced punishment of Culverage. Matt. Paris, 234.

[21] Matt. Paris, 234.

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near Dover, he took off his crown, laid it at Pandulf's feet, and signed an instrument by which he resigned to the Pope the kingdom of England and Ireland, and swore liege homage to him and his successors. He signed another act, by which he promised fealty to the Pope as his lord. He even endeavoured to bind posterity to an imitation of his baseness, by agreeing that if any of his successors should attempt to contravene it, they should forfeit their right to the throne; and as a token of his vassalage, he agreed to pay a thousand marks yearly to the holy see[22]. No act of hierarchal arrogance or royal degradation could be more complete, and Pandulf conducted himself with all the insolence which such meanness had a tendency to excite. He trampled under his feet, as in imperial disdain, the money which the king gave him as the pledge of his submission, and then sailed to France, to order Philip to desist from invading a kingdom now become St. Peter's patrimony. The king of France, with reason, remonstrated that he had spent 60,000 pounds to fulfil the Pope's military wishes; and he turned his arms on Flanders, for an indemnity, swearing that France should be Flanders, or Flanders France. A fleet sent by John, defeated Philip's ambition, and the independence of Flanders was preserved[23]. Langton, the opposed archbishop, was welcomed by the king, but with an humiliation more adapted to excite contempt than to conciliate attachment.

Acquisition of Magna Charta.

The third great event of this reign was as felicitous to the country, as the preceding incidents were disastrous—the acquisition by the people of that great charter of their liberties, which every Englishman learns, almost from his cradle, to revere as one of the main

[22] Matt. Paris inserts in his history these singular instruments, dated the 15th May 1213, pp. 236, 237. He gives four reasons for John's conduct: his despair of his salvation; his dread of the king of France; his doubts of his own nobles; and his alarm at a hermit's prophecy, that by the next ascension day he would lose his crown. p. 235. The last circumstance may have affected a mind so feeble.

[23] Matt. Paris, 238.

main pillars of his constitution, and which has been the great support of his national prosperity.

The more the king alienated his people by his misconduct, the more violent were his measures to enforce their obedience. As he spurned all laws in the pursuit of his revenge, he drove his barons to illegal measures for their own protection and defence.

The line had not yet been distinctly drawn between the prerogatives of the crown and the rights of the people; both remained in the undefined state of prescription and tradition. In all the Northern nations, great councils had been attached to their monarchies, from their first emerging from the woods of Germany; the ruling chief and the council appear to us together, in their wildest state[24]. The destruction of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, in their revolts against William, and the confiscation of their property among his Norman barons, had annihilated the members of their ancient witenagemots, but did not terminate the institution. The Norman barons were as independent as the Saxon witena, and they surrounded the sovereign in a national council, as well after the conquest as before.

But the royal privileges being still undefined, were often extended with unlimited use, varying in their exertion according to the personal character of the prince. Wise sovereigns never push their prerogatives to extremes that incite their people to question the right, or to criticise their extent; weaker princes love to make their power felt, and perpetually hazard it by the violence with which they exert it, and by the abuses to which they carry it. John was a sovereign of this description; and his arbitrary attempts to rule by his fractious will, instead of law, brought the crown, and the nobility, then the most efficient part of the nation, into immediate collision.

The

[24] This clearly appears in the treatise of Tacitus de Mor. Germ.

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The new archbishop led the storm. At a meeting of the prelates and "barons of the kingdom," which seems to have been a parliament, he reminded them, that the king had sworn to destroy all bad laws, and to re-establish the good ones. "I have found," he added, "the charter of Henry I. by which, if you chuse, you may recall the lost liberties to their former state." He produced it, and it was read. The barons heard it with great joy, and swore at a fit season to contend for these liberties even to death. Langton promised them his help, and the assembly broke up[25].

The death of the great justiciary of the kingdom, whose abilities had hitherto kept the government safe, released the king from a prudential monitor, whom he hated. Weakly exclaiming, "Now am I for the first time king and lord of England," he proceeded to obey only the dictates of his own erring mind, and to reap the bitter consequences of its follies[26].

He solicited the Pope's help against Langton and the barons; and when his new legate came, again at St. Paul's he resigned to him, for the Pope, his crown and kingdom. The legate, under his master's sanction, proceeded to fill up the vacancies which had occurred in the church, independently of the bishops, who appealed against this invasion of their rights.

The king then attempted a campaign in Poitou and Bretagne. The native bravery of his subjects obtained advantages, which soon vanished in disaster under a leader so incompetent[27].

The

[25] Matt. Paris, 240, 241. He copies the charter: It is the same which is entered in the Textus Roffensis at Rochester Cathedral, and in the Red Book at Westminster. It is the first charter printed by the Commissioners of Public Records, in the important publication of "The Statutes of the Realm." It proves that the Norman kings had their parliament, for Henry I. says in it, "Sciatis me dei misericordia et *communi consilio* Baronum totius regni Angliæ ejusdem regem coronatum esse." p. 1.

[26] On hearing of his minister's death, he is stated to have said, "When he gets to Hell, let him salute Hubert my archbishop of Canterbury, whom no doubt he will find there." Matt. Paris, 243.—Hubert had been his first prime minister.

[27] Matt. Paris, 245—252.

The barons met in a secret conference at Bury St. Edmund's; the charter of Henry I. was there produced, with the additional liberties which the country had enjoyed under the Confessor; and they swore on the great altar, that if the king refused to sanction them, they should assemble in arms to compel his assent[28]. This was sufficiently treasonable. But the king had begun the days of violence, and may be said to have dissolved the allegiance of his subjects, by surrendering his kingdom to the Pope. At least this resignation of his crown was so like an act of abdication, that it seemed a reasonable question, whether his baronial parliament had not a right to take peculiar measures for the ascertainment of the national rights, and the preservation of the national welfare[29]. 1214.

At London, on the following Christmas, their petition was presented, supported by a military array. The king at first solicited a delay, but at length pledged himself to give a satisfactory answer at Easter. The barons dispersed. John employed the interval in exacting new oaths of fealty and homage; and for his greater protection, undertook to join the crusaders[30].

The barons assembled at Easter, in great power, at Stamford; the king at Oxford. By his ambassadors he demanded their object; they presented to him the charter, with peremptory request. He answered, that they might as well require his kingdom as these unjust exactions. Appointing Robert Fitzwalter their leader and marshal, the barons began hostilities. Repulsed at Northampton, they were welcomed into Bedford, and soon invited to London. The concurrence of the metropolis was decisive of the contest. The king sent to desire a place of friendly conference to be appointed;

[28] Matt. Paris, 252, 253.

[29] John, in his letter to the Pope, states that "the earls and barons of England had been devoted to him before he had surrendered his kingdom to the pontiff, but that since that time they had violently risen against him, and specially on that account, sicut publicè dicunt." Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 7.

[30] Matt. Paris.

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appointed; they named Runnymead, a meadow between Staines and Windsor. On the 15th June 1215, both parties met there; the barons in such numbers, that all the nobility of England seemed present. They took their separate stations, and a long discussion was terminated by the signature of that Magna Charta, that great charter of the liberties of England, which has become sacred in the memory of Englishmen[31].

The more we contemplate this important charter, the more we shall perceive it to have been pregnant with benefits to every order of the community, except that unfortunate class, who, being in a servile state, were considered to be the property of their happier masters, and are therefore not noticed in this palladium of the rights and privileges of the free. We will attempt such an analysis of it, and in such an arrangement, as will give a reader of the present day a just idea of its most important contents.

ANALYSIS OF MAGNA CHARTA.

Parliaments.

NO Taxation was to be imposed but by parliament, except in the three cases, of redeeming the sovereign from captivity, making his son a knight, or marrying his eldest daughter; and for these the subsidy was to be reasonable.

In order to have a parliament to impose taxation in other cases, the king was to summons severally the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, by his own letters; and he was to cause to be summoned by his sheriffs and bailiffs,

[31] Matt. Paris, 254, 255.—Of this celebrated charter, an *original* is still preserved in Lincoln cathedral in a perfect state. This is printed in the "Statutes of the Realm."—The elaborate preface to that publication remarks, "This charter appears to be of superior authority to either of the two charters of the same date preserved in the British Museum. From the contemporary indorsements of the word Lincolnia on two folds of the charter, this may be presumed to be the charter transmitted by the hands of Hugh, the then Bishop of Lincoln, who is one of the bishops named in the introductory clause; and it is observable, that several words and sentences are inserted in the body of this charter, which in both the charters preserved in the British Museum are added by way of notes, for amendment, at the bottom of the instrument." p. xxix.

bailiffs, all those who held of the crown in capite, for an appointed day, not less than forty days distant, and for a fixed place; and in the summons, the cause of the summonsing was to be expressed. The business was to be transacted by those who attended, though every one should not arrive.

Trial by Jury.

No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his land, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed; nor shall the crown press upon him, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

A fixed legal tribunal.

Common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place.

Impartial judgments, and Fair trials.

King shall not sell, deny or delay, right or justice to any one.

No bailiff shall place any one under the law by a mere complaint, without faithful witnesses brought to prove it.

Nothing shall be given or taken for the writ of inquisition of life and limbs, but it shall be freely given, and not denied.

No sheriff, constable, coroner or bailiff, shall hold pleas of the crown.

County assizes.

Two justices shall be sent through every county, four times a year; who, with four knights, to be elected by the county out of it, shall hold the assizes; and the disputes about land, mentioned in the Charter, are to be there tried.

Ancient privileges maintained.

The city of London should have all its ancient liberties, and its free customs, as well by land as water.

All other cities, burghs, towns and ports, shall have all their liberties and free customs.

Limitation of feudal services, and crown exactions.

No one shall be distrained to do more service for his military fee, nor for any other free tenement, than he owes from it.

No town or man shall be distrained to make bridges, unless they who anciently and of right ought to make them.

All counties, hundreds, tithings and wapentakes, shall continue at their ancient payments, without any increase, except on demesne manors.

No constable shall distrain any knight to give money for the ward of a castle, if he will do that duty in his own person, or by a proper substitute if he be absent from a reasonable cause.

No sheriff, bailiff, or any other, shall take the horses or carts of any freeman to do carriage duty, unless at will of that freeman; nor take away any wood but with the consent of the owner.

No constable or bailiff shall take the corn or goods of any one, unless he pays for them, or gives a responsibility for them, at the will of the seller.

Crown not to hold the lands of those convicted of felony above a year and a day, after which the lands shall be surrendered to the lord of the fee.

Wills and administrations of personal property allowed.

After payment of the debt to the crown, if any, the residue to be left to the executors to perform the will of the deceased.

If any freeman shall die intestate, his chattels shall be distributed by the hands of his near relations and friends, under the superintendence of the church, saving to every creditor his debt.

A freeman

Fines to be moderate and just.

A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offenee, but in proportion to its nature.

If the offence be great, he shall be fined accordingly, but saving his contenement; to a merchant, his merchandize; and to a villanus, his waggons.

Lords to be judged by their peers.

Earls and barons shall be fined only by their peers, and according to the nature of their offenee.

Protection of heirs.

The heir of every earl, baron, or tenant in capite, to have his inheritance on payment of the ancient fine, which is fixed at one hundred pounds for an earldom, one hundred marks for a barony, and one hundred shillings for a knight.

The guardian appointed to any heir under age, shall take from the land only reasonable payments and services, and without destruction and waste. If he committed waste, he was to forfeit his guardianship. While he held it, he was to keep up the houses, parks, ponds, mills, &c. out of the profits; and to give the land up to the heir when of age, stored with its carts and waggons.

Heirs were to be married without disparagement, and the marriage was to be previously announced to the relations.

Protection of widows.

Every widow to have her jointure and dower.

She might remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower was to be assigned to her.

No widow was to be compelled to marry, as long as she wished to live without a husband, provided she gave surety that she would not marry without the king's consent, if she held her lands of him, or the consent of the lord, if she held under any.

Lands.

Lands were not to be seized for debts, if there were goods sufficient.

Protection of sureties.

No sureties were to be distrained while the debtor was able to pay; if on his failure they were called upon, they were to have his lands and rents till they were indemnified.

Debts of deceased, how to be paid.

On money borrowed, crown to take only the chattel specified in the security.

Widow to have her dower without contributing to the payment of the debt; and the children under age to be provided with necessaries: from the residue the debt was to be paid, saving to the lord his service.

Measures, weights.

One measure and one weight throughout the kingdom.

Merchants.

All merchants might safely come to England, and go from it, and remain in it, and travel through it to buy or sell, and on the ancient and right customs. Foreign merchants, if their country was hostile, might be arrested till it was known how our merchants were treated in the alien country.

Quitting the realm.

Every one might leave the realm, and return, saving his allegianee; except in the time of war, and excepting prisoners and outlaws, and merchants of a country at war with us.

These provisions, with the Forest Laws (that are not necessary to be inserted here) constitute MAGNA CHARTA. Their general equity,

equity, their national utility, and their perfect compatibility with every dignified and useful prerogative of the sovereign, would make us surprised that John should have conceived that in agreeing to them he was giving up his kingdom, if any opinion of a mind so disturbed could astonish us. It was enough that they restricted his capricious humours and arbitrary will, to excite his displeasure. He was ignorant of the great political truth, that the royal power, and indeed all power, is then most securely established when it is fairly limited to a conformity with the national welfare, and when the just demarcations are known both to the sovereign and his people.

The king's wild conduct.

An universal joy was spread through the kingdom, on the publication of this great charter. "England," says the patriotic monk, "seemed delivered from an Egyptian yoke, and the people believed that the king's stony heart was softened[32]." But John soon discovered that it was not made of penetrable matter. His actions after the signature betrayed what best explains his life, that his mind was partially deranged. He began to execrate his mother and his birth; he would gnash his teeth, stare wild and grimly about him, seize clubs and sticks, gnaw them, break them in pieces, and perform many extravagant gestures which resembled the acts of a maniac. On the very night of the settlement, he sent secret letters to all the governors of his castles, who were foreigners, ordering them to provision their fortresses, make arrows, and prepare their warlike machines, but privately and cautio uly, that the barons might not discover it. The rumour of these measures reaching them, they inquired of the king the truth: with a serene air, he swore he meant no hostility; and his rude horse-laughs seemed more like folly than malice. Half appeased, half mistrusting, they withdrew; and the king suddenly, at the next

[32] Matt. Paris, 263.

CHAP. XII. THE REIGN OF JOHN.

next dawn of day, after a sleepless night, set off from Windsor for the Isle of Wight, where he hid himself, brooding on plans of malicious revenge. Three months he passed among the fishermen and seamen, even practising piracy; his subjects in the mean time wholly ignorant what had become of him, and debating whether he had turned fisherman or pirate: even they who had business to transact, could not find him out. Insanity cannot give clearer indications of its existence[33].

One part of his employment in this concealment, was to invite needy adventurers from the Continent to come over to him. He also sent his ambassadors to Rome, to solicit the papal condemnation of the charter. The Pope without difficulty annulled it; and in his pontifical letter on the subject, declares that John had ceded his kingdom to the Roman see, and taken it again in feudal tenure, under an annual tribute of a thousand marks, and had pledged his oath of fealty to the Pope: he adds, that the king had declared, that since the dominion of his realm belonged to the Roman church, he had not the power to make any change to the prejudice of the holy see, without its special command: the pontiff therefore pronounces the Magna Charta to be void[34].

He attacks the barons.

The king emerged from the Isle of Wight to Dover, to meet his auxiliaries. The hope of great donatives or confiscations brought over many from Poitou, Gascony, Louvain, Brabant, and Flanders; many came with their wives and children, as if certain of settling in the island. One of these fleets was wrecked in the English channel, and some thousands perished in the tempest[35]. The Pope suspended the archbishop of Canterbury, and excommunicated the barons, who on their part prepared to assert their claims by arms. John advanced with his foreign mercenaries to Nottingham,

[33] Matt. Paris, 263—265. One of John's prior Patents, preserved in the Tower of London, is dated "apud subterraneam," as if he sometimes affected or required a secret seclusion. Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 4.

[34] Matt. Paris, 266, 267. [35] Ib. 269.

tingham, plundering on his way the baronial possessions, and detaching military bodies to other counties, with license to ravage them. The barons, now driven to extremities, execrating both the king and the pope, agreed to chuse Louis, son of the king of France, for their sovereign, that they might be enabled, with his assistance, to maintain themselves in a contest, on the issue of which their lives and fortunes hung. The legate forbad Louis to enter England. But the promised crown was too tempting to be refused: he sailed from Calais with 600 ships, and 80 small vessels, all well furnished with troops and necessaries. He landed in the Isle of Thanet, took Rochester, and proceeded to London, where the barons received him with great acclamations. Their united forces secured Kent and Sussex and Hampshire, and all the southern counties, excepting the castles of Dover and Windsor. Essex and Suffolk were soon added; and they advanced successfully into Norfolk, spreading around all the devastations of civil warfare. John's forces maintained themselves in the northern districts, where the king of Scotland distressed him by an invasion of Northumberland. The united armies of Louis and the barons laid siege to Dover and Windsor; and the country was suffering all the desolations of war, when it was happily released by the death of the king. An intemperate meal of peaches and new ale threw him into a dysentery, of which he died, at Newark, the 19th October 1216, naming his son Henry, a child of nine years old, his successor[36].

His death. 1216.

In the depraved character of John, there seems less than the usual mixture of qualities on which, even in bad men, some panegyric may be founded. Gross in his appetites, obstinate in self-will, furious in his anger, slothful, debauched, tyrannical, and pusillanimous; his defects were not relieved by any mental capacity

His character.

[36] Matt. Paris, 278—288.

capacity or social attainments. They were aggravated by the display of a disposition both cruel and unprincipled. His torturing the Jews, was the suggestion and gratification of a merciless mind. His confining the wife and children of a noble, who had affronted him in Windsor Castle, to die of famine as they did; his ordering, one day before his dinner, twenty-eight Welsh lads to be hanged, whom he had received the year before as hostages, because their countrymen made depredations on his borders; his torturing to death one of his clergy, who is described as a faithful, prudent, and accomplished man; his hanging the poor hermit and his son, who had ventured a prediction that he would not be king on the next Ascension day, which he verified by his resignation to Pandulf[37]; these instances shew that he had a malignity of disposition which no human sympathies softened. His religious opinions may be inferred from his exclamation over a fat stag, taken in hunting, as he saw him flayed: "How happily has this fellow lived! yet he never heard mass[38]!"

The actions of John are best accounted for on the supposition that he was deranged[39]; and this idea gives some intelligibility to a story too wild to be probable, yet too well attested to be rejected; it is stated by Matthew Paris, on the authority of one of the persons who formed the embassy to the Miramoulin, who related the account in the hearing of the historian, and shewed the presents he had received from the Moorish prince. On such direct testimony we insert it below[40]. If this embassy had merely been

[37] Matt. Paris, 229, 230, 231. 233. 237.

[38] Ibid. 245.

[39] His grand-daughter Mathilda became actually mad, and killed two of her sons. Calend. Rotul. p. 27.

[40] The king, during the first discussions with his nobles, and after his submission to Pandulf, sent secretly but in great haste two knights, and Robert, a clergyman of London, to the Mahomedan emperor of Spain and Africa, offering to yield his kingdom to be tributary to him, and to change his religion for that of the Koran. Admitted to the presence of the Saracen monarch, they delivered their credentials and message. After expressing his dislike of a renegade, he inquired about England

been to have asked the assistance of the Mussulman against his barons, it would have been credible, for the emperor of Germany in this age employed Saracens in his army against Milan, (M. Paris, 444.) and the Grecian emperor more than once sought aid from the Turks; but that John should have offered to embrace Mahomedanism, and to make his kingdom tributary, was either an exaggeration of the dark-visaged ambassador, or must be referred to a paroxysm of insanity. Such however was his real history, that he lived without respect and died unlamented. Yet from his disgraceful reign one inestimable benefit was extracted to his people—a definite ascertainment and legal record of their constitutional rights.

England and its sovereign. When he heard a prosperous account of the country, he asked the king's age and person. On receiving the explanation, he exclaimed, that he was nothing but a delirious dotard, and indignantly ordered the messengers to retire from his presence. As they withdrew, the little black countenance and mishapen figure of the monk, Robert, who had hitherto been silent, arrested his notice. He had him called back. He conversed familiarly with him, and questioned him particularly about John. The monk drew the king's picture with a severe hand. The Moor was pleased with his conversation, repeated his contempt for his master, but loaded him with presents. On his return, John, to reward him for his journey, forced him on the abbey of St. Alban's, where to his familiar friends he disclosed the circumstance. M. Paris, 245. Hic tamen quosdam abbatis ministros precipuos—dilexit et habuit familiares quibus gemmas suas et alia secreta revelavit sibi a dicto admirallo collata et dicta, audiente Mattheo qui et hæc scripsit et narravit. He mentions the story again in his Hist. Abb. St. Alb. p. 109.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. XIII.

REIGN OF HENRY THE THIRD.

1216—1272.

CHAP. XIII.

THE death of John left England in a peculiar state of political embarrassment. With a legal native sovereign in Henry, then an infant, it had also a foreign prince, who had been invited into the country with the promise of the crown, whose assistance had preserved the nobles from destruction, and who had at that time the military occupation of several of the counties. Gratitude would have sanctioned the coronation of Louis; national interest required the accession of Henry.

Henry crowned.

All political reasons for the invitation of Louis had ceased with the death of the late king. The state of the country was changed by his demise: and to have given to Louis the crown, would have made the British islands an appendage to a continental power already fast expanding into greatness; a competitor, from locality, in every channel of British prosperity; and dissimilar in laws, customs, and popular feeling. The union of the French and English kingdoms would be the yoking together of two proud and powerful states, whom no national sympathies have hitherto united,

united, who would each undervalue and struggle to keep down the other, and whose ill-sorted marriage would quickly end in fierce and emulous conflict. Many of the barons therefore wisely resolved to crown their native prince, while others assisted Louis to attack the castles that withstood him. His avidity to appropriate to himself whatever places he took, and to garrison them with foreign soldiers, gradually alienated his English friends[1]. Many depredations were committed by rapacious partisans[2]. But the contest was at last terminated unfavourably to the French interest; Louis was defeated at Lincoln[3], and the succours which his father sent him were unsuccessful at sea.

French fleet defeated.

This was the first important maritime engagement between the fleets of the two nations. The French consisted of eighty great ships, besides many smaller ones and armed gallies. The English, including their gallies and other vessels, did not exceed forty. In the battle the English fleet got the wind, planted their ballistæ, and made great havoc by their projectile weapons: some of their gallies had iron prows, and with these they ran down several of the French ships: they also discharged great quantities of quicklime, which the wind wafted into the eyes of their adversaries. They pursued their advantages by closing where they thought fit, and they carried destruction wherever they attacked. The French, less expert in naval battle, were almost all sunk or taken[4]. After this disaster, Louis thought only of retreat. He made conditions honourable

[1] Matt. Paris, 289—292.—Robert of Gloucester expresses the national feeling in one line:

Vor men loved bet hor kunde louerd than Lowis of France. p. 514.

[2] Of these, Falcasius (or, as he is named in the Annals of Waverly, Faukes) was distinguished. M. Paris, 292. 321.—He is called Fulco, in Chron. Th. Wikes, p. 38.

[3] M. Paris, 296.—London had sent out 600 knights and 20,000 coats of mail to the support of Louis. Ib. p. 293.

[4] M. Paris, 298.—The Annals of Waverly say that only fifteen of the French ships escaped. p. 183.—A few years after this battle, we find an admiral of England named in the rolls of the Tower, Admirallus Angliæ. Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 13.

CHAP. XIII.

REIGN OF HENRY III.

honourable to himself, for he provided for the safety of his adherents, and he returned to France[5]. Henry then entered London, was crowned at Westminster, and received the homage of the king of Scotland for his possessions in England.

Magna Charta confirmed.

Henry owed his crown, and the English their emancipation from a foreign sovereign, to the wisdom and exertions of William Mareschall, earl of Pembroke, who had been appointed the regent of the kingdom[6]. The great charters of liberty obtained in the preceding reign, were again confirmed[7], and the discussions between the crown and the parliament ceased for some years[8].

General incidents of the reign.

The general history of this reign is neither interesting nor splendid. Its first periods exhibited some of the common evils of a monarchy, and of unpopular and injudicious administrations. Petty revolts of individual nobles, occasional seditions in London; and justiciaries or prime ministers becoming odious to the nation by violent and despotic measures, afterwards appear. Intrigues, violence,

[5] See the Treaty between Louis and Henry, in Rymer's Act. Fœd. p. 221.

[6] He died in 1219, and was buried in the Temple church. Matt. Paris, 304.—In this year the trial by ordeal was abolished in England. Rymer's Fœd. p. 228.—I observe from the Rabbi Hirschel's Sermon on the Thanksgiving for the victory off Trafalgar, that even the Jews had the trial by battle: "Our rabbins directed a dispute about property between two parties, neither of which could produce evidence to substantiate his claim, to be settled by single combat (Baba Bathra) from the conviction that a consciousness of truth and right gave additional confidence and strength to its possessor." Sermon, p. 12. He calls himself presiding Rabbi, erroneously styled the High Priest.

[7] In 1223, at the court held in Oxford, Langton and the barons asked the king to confirm the liberties for which the war had been made against his father. One of the king's counsellors objected. The archbishop desired him, if he loved the king, not to disturb the kingdom. Henry assented, and sent letters to the sheriffs, ordering them to inquire, by the oaths of twelve knights of every county, what were the liberties of England in the time of Henry his grandfather. Matt. Paris, 317. The king was ill-advised afterwards to dispute these charters.

[8] These national charters granted by Henry are now printed in the Statutes of the Realm, from the archives of Durham cathedral and the Bodleian library. Robert of Gloucester says of them—

Then this land thoru God's grace to good pays was ibrought,
Vor to abbe the old lawes the heie men turnde hor thought—
Vor to abbe, as we sede er, *the gode olde lawe*,
The king made is chartre and granted it wel sawe. p. 517.

violence, arrogant pretensions and exactions of the Pope, that even offended his own order, excited the criticism, affected the faith, and alienated the attachment of the nation from its spiritual head. Favouritism, and its attendant pliability to those who pleased; instability in public measures at one time, and at others a perseverance like obstinacy in obnoxious or unpopular plans; diminished the personal influence of the sovereign. Pecuniary exactions independent of the legislature, attempts to enforce arbitrary government, and imputed faithlessness, roused his parliament occasionally to resist, and produced disaffection in the nation, and ruin to the weak ministers who advised them.

This discouraging picture of imprudence and mischief continued in various shapes and with diversified consequences for nearly fifty years[9], revolts us as we read, and cannot please by its detail. The agitations and disasters which followed, show that if the sovereign be so indolent or incapable as to be ruled by favourites unworthy or ill-judging; if he be so undiscriminating as not to perceive their insufficiency, and so tenacious of his own preferences as not to yield to better counsels; his government will inevitably produce an unpopular reign, disquieted times, and an irritated people. Faction will arise deserving punishment, yet multiplying disaffection by experiencing it, and sometimes sanctified by the vices it opposes. The voice of law and the lessons of history will be lost in the heated turbulence of the day, until the evil has worked its own cure, from the general experience of the mischiefs it has occasioned.

Yet Henry was neither an undeserving nor ill-intentioned prince; if Henry's virtues.

[9] The History of Matthew Paris, p. 289 to 988, continued by W. Rishanger to p. 1009, details all these occurrences with the minuteness of an annalist, but with the spirit and feeling of an independent man. He rejoices in the acquired liberties of the nation; he notices, without acrimony, the faults of the royal administration; and states, with a fair censorial impartiality, the avarice and tyranny of the popedom. I think I have never read a more honest historian.

if he erred, it was from the defects of his education, and the want of a strong judgment and consistent will: his heart was usually right[10]. He was one of those mild, unambitious, and tranquil princes, who can find happiness in their domestic circle, and whose reign, though distinguished by no military glories, is yet perhaps from that circumstance above all others abundant in public prosperity and comforts. In no part of our history do more striking indications of improvement appear, in every department of national excellence, than under this depreciated king. The progress of political society is indeed always tending to advance; it only asks in general from its government the absence of all imposed impediments: let its own energies act unrestricted and unspoiled, and the general laws of human nature will impel it perpetually forward in its meliorating career. This circumstance will perhaps explain the general improvement under the reign of Henry, notwithstanding its occasional turbulence. Foreign warfare never exhausted the country; and the internal feuds usually aiming right, and checked in their evil tendencies when they did not, rather agitated than injured it; they broke the fetters which unwise administrations would have imposed; they kept the national liberties undiminished, and the national spirit undecayed; and when faction began to usurp the place of patriotism, the just prerogatives of the crown were preserved by its disappointment.

Abused by the Troubadours.

If we estimate Henry from the Troubadours of his continental dominions, we shall indeed despise him: they were fertile in their abuse. At one time the poetical satirists taunt him without disguise: "The

[10] The old chronicle extracted by Hearne, thus fairly speaks of him: "This kyng in worldeliche doyng was nat holde fulle wyse, but more devoute to spiritualle thinges.—He was but of mene stature. His other eye-lede hangyd so myche adoun, that hit heled half the blake of his eye. Strong of strengthe, but fallyng and unwys in his doynges, in whiche, nevertheless, *he hadde selby and faire endes*." Notes to Rob. Glouc. p. 522.

"The king of England should eat a piece of my heart: he has a very small one: he would then have plenty, and would retake the territory which he has let the French monarch shamefully usurp, who profits by his negligence and cowardice[11]." In a strain as vituperative, another attacks him: "I believe the king of England is on his death-bed, for, without saying a word, he sees his inheritances torn away from him, instead of uniting with those who are ill-treated like himself, and of making a courageous war[12]." The Troubadour Giorgi more ingeniously addresses him with complimentary irony: "Reproach not the king of England for his delay; he only wants power. He will keep his promise, and cover himself with glory in executing it. No; although he is tardy now, there will not be an action at which he will not be present. He will equal the most valiant, and lead succours as powerful as any other prince[13]."

It was happy for the repose of Europe that Henry had no military qualities in his composition. He promised to undertake a crusade, but never began it[14]. He attempted some campaigns in Poitou and Gascony, but, from his personal dislike to war, or from his timidity, they were unfruitful and disreputable[15]. He had to endure the reproaches of a warring world for his peaceable

[11] This is the Troubadour Blacas, a noble baron. St. Palaye has preserved his tençon, containing his dispute with Pierre Vidal, another Troubadour, Hist. Troub. 1. p. 449 to 451.—The extract in the text is from his funeral eulogy on Sordel, his contemporary. p. 454. He attacks other princes in it.

[12] Hist. Troub. 2. p. 38. Boniface de Castellane is this Troubadour, also of noble birth. When Marseilles revolted, he put himself at the head of the insurrection, and was beheaded on its being taken by Charles d' Anjou.

[13] Troub. 2. p. 356. Giorgi was a gentleman of Venice, embarking in commerce like the other noble Venetians. He was taken by a Genoese corsair and imprisoned. p. 345.

[14] Matt. Paris.—By his will he left all his treasure (excepting his jewels) to aid the Holy Land, and to be taken thither, with his cross, by brave and trust-worthy men to be selected by his executors. Royal and noble Wills, p. 15.

[15] Matt. Paris, 366, 367. Such was the conduct of his administration, that when the army, which he had summoned to invade France, reached Portsmouth, they did not find ships provided to transport them. p. 363.

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peaceable temper. He might have converted them to lasting panegyric, by exhibiting the increasing prosperity of his nation, which his tranquillity produced, if the injudicious measures of his domestic administration had not irritated the people whom he was benefiting, and deprived him of that solid reputation, which by better ministers he would have attained.

Wealth of England.

The augmented wealth of the nation during his reign is very striking. The affluent pomp of the metropolis, on all the public ceremonies, is remarkable[16]. The richness of its ecclesiastical dresses and ornaments astonished the Pope. On beholding the gold brocades, he exclaimed, "Truly, England is our garden of delight! It is an unexhausted well; and where so much abounds, much may be acquired[17]." The exactions which the Roman see, during all this reign, imposed on the clergy, were enormous in their amount, and incessant in the requisitions[18]. The supplies obtained from parliament were great, although always accompanied with remonstrances as to their misapplication, with petitions for redress of grievances, and with invectives against the foreigners who were supposed to be abusing the king's confidence, and fattening on his spoils[19].

But

[16] See Matt. Paris, 414, 420, &c. In 1254, the king visited Paris. The splendid convivialities on that occasion, and Henry's royal donations, are noticed with admiration by Matthew, who extols them as exceeding those of Ahasuerus, Arthur, or Charlemagne. 899.

[17] Matt. Paris, 705. Yet notwithstanding its increase of wealth, the country was still distressed with occasional famines. Taxter mentions one after the year 1250, in which the poor were reduced to eat horseflesh and the bark of trees, and even worse. MS. Cott. Lib. Julius A 1. p. 40.

[18] Matt. Paris is perpetually describing and perpetually censuring them; 297. 328. 331. 371. 400. 402. 438. He even talks of the pope's stony heart, 527, and the detestable papal exactions, p. 533. He says that the income taken from England by the foreign clergy, whom Innocent IV. appointed, was above 70,000 marcs a year. The king's did not amount to a third of that sum. p. 859. Among the rolls of the Tower is one, contra abusus papales. Cal. Rot. 23.

[19] See Matt. Paris, 435. 445. 695. and in other places.—Taxter also mentions these differences, and that they were charged upon the queen, and the Provençals and Savoyards, her relations, who were at length expelled from the country by the parliament. MS. Chron. Julius A 1. p. 40.—On the grants to Pet. Rivall. see Cal. Rot. Pat. 15, 16; and afterwards, those to Peter of Savoy.

His foreign connexions.

But this evil, the encouragement of foreigners, against which the nation most loudly declaimed, though actually unwise in the manner and to the extent with which it was conferred, yet contributed to the progress of the country. All nations are benefited by intercourse with each other. Wealthy states are improved by the mixture of a poorer and hardier population, as well as by the residence of the more enlightened. Civilization becomes more varied, industry excited, and knowledge enlarged, by the settlement of new families, with new habits and pursuits. The reign of Henry connected England with Armenia, whose friars came for a refuge from the Tartars[20]; with Germany, whose emperor married his sister[21]; with Provence and Savoy, from which both he and his brother had their wives[22]; with Spain, where his son was knighted and wedded[23]; with France, which he visited in much pomp[24]; with its southern regions, Guienne and Poitou, which he retained; with the countries upon the Rhine, where his brother went to obtain the empire[25]; with the north of Italy, where he sent knights to assist the emperor against Milan[26]; with the south of it, by the intercourse of himself and his clergy with the Pope, and by the crowds of Italians whom the pontiff poured into England[27]; with Savoy, whose count he pensioned[28]; with Constantinople, whose exiled emperor sought his support[29]; with Jerusalem, whither the English still crusaded[30]; and even with the Saracens,

[20] Matt. Paris, 779.

[21] Ib. 414. Rymer, p. 355.

[22] Ib. 420. 606.—On other projects of marriage he had correspondence with the duke of Austria, Rymer, p. 275; with Bretagne, ib. p. 283; and on the king of Bohemia's daughter, ib. p. 293.

[23] Ib. 890; Rymer, p. 491.

[24] Ib. 899, 900.

[25] Ib. 948—983.

[26] Ib. 470. 472. The emperor spoke highly of their exertions in repelling a sally of the besieged.

[27] See Rymer, 242. 301. 337. 441. 451. 471. 581, &c.

[28] Henry gave him one thousand pounds a year for some fiefs he claimed. Rymer, p. 441. The count did homage to Henry for other fees. Matt. Paris, 706.

[29] Matt. Paris, p. 469.

[30] In 1250 many English sold their property and lands to go. Matt. Paris, 773. 785.

Henry

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Saracens, who implored his aid against the Tartars[31]. In this reign the English traded with Norway, Lübeck, Brabant, Lorraine, France, Lucca, Placentia, Florence, Flanders, Portugal, Germany, and Spain[32], as well as to Gascony and Sicily. This extensive range of political and commercial intercourse, imparted and excited great improvements through all the classes of English society. The knowledge of natural history was increased by the new animals that were imported into England, the presents of merchants or foreign potentates[33]; and the arts began now to receive an attention which makes this reign the first epoch of their appearance in England[34]. The composition and transcription of romances the king particularly cultivated, from his personal taste[35]. The increased intercourse of the nation with Spain and its Mahomedan population,

Henry assumed the cross, ib. 774, but never went. His brother sailed thither, p. 536, and wrote an account of his crusade, p. 566—568.

[31] Matt. Paris, 471. Taxter, MS. Chron. 36—42. This author wrote his Chronicle after the year 1267, as he mentions, p. 37. that he then assumed the habit of a monk. Taxter uses Arabic numerals, intermixed with Roman letters, and refers sometimes to an æra which he calls Annus Arabum. p. 42. Henry corresponded with the sultan of Damascus. 1 Rymer Act. Fœd. 289.

[32] See Cal. Rot. Pat. 12, 13. 17. 20. 27, 28, 29. 32. 34. 44. One of these rolls mentions a Domus Teutonicorum in London, p. 32. The merchants of Florence once paid the king a fine of a thousand pounds for false weights. p. 43. In 1241, tin was first found in Germany, more pure than in England: it had never been met with before from the beginning of the world, says Matt. Paris, but in Cornwall. This discovery, and the quantity which Germany sent into England, depreciated the English tin. p. 570.

[33] Thus there was a bear from Norway; also, buffaloes. Mad. Exch. Three leopards and a camel were sent by the emperor, and an elephant from the king of France. Matt. Paris, 416. 419. 832. 903. The elephant seems to have excited great curiosity, and is very carefully described, and even delineated in some of our ancient MSS.

[34] Henry and his nobles had a taste for architecture. One of his courtiers, who began his career with two carucates of land, which he soon increased to fifty, is called an incomparable builder. At Tedington he built a palace, with its appendages, covered with stone and lead, and adorned with orchards and parks, which excited the admiration of the beholders. His workmen, for many years, received every week from 100 to 130 shillings for wages. Matt. Paris, 821. Many churches are mentioned as built and consecrated in England at this time. Ib. 481. 526. 538. The king made a gold shrine for St. Edward, p. 572; and began Westminster Abbey, ib. Add. p. 1009. By his will he leaves this to his son to finish. Royal Wills, p. 15.

[35] In several of the prose Romans, it is mentioned that they were written at the request, or by the encouragement of Henry III.

population, occasioned the Arabic sciences to flow freely into England during this period. English poetry and literature now began to emerge from its embryo state into visible shape and definite features. Internal trade multiplied as foreign commerce enlarged. The increase of luxury diminished the fierce warlike spirit of the great; and the courtly splendour, and even effeminacy, introduced a love of peace, habits of courtesy, and a polish of manners, highly auxiliary to human happiness. The clergy were raised, by the papal avarice, to a salutary resistance, which preserved the liberties of the English church[36]. And the weak facility and injudicious conduct of the king and his favourites, compelling his parliament to formidable exertions in defence of the national rights, an importance was given to the great council of the nation, which it has never since lost: it became, from the events of this reign, so identified with the public feeling, and so firmly incorporated in the government of the country, that the next sovereign, the vigorous and determined Edward I. allowed to it a due authority, applied to it for all his subsidies, listened respectfully to its petitions, deferred to its opinions, and sought to govern by its aid*. From all these causes, England, during this long reign of fifty-six years, made a great and steady advance in all the paths of national prosperity; and acquired a solid accumulation of national strength, whose effects were powerfully felt and brilliantly displayed in succeeding times[37].

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[36] Robert Grosseteste, the patriotic bishop of Lincoln, was indefatigable in this object. He attacked the Pope without fear, and even ventured to argue that he was both a heretic and antichrist. Matt. Paris, pp. 874, 875. The Pope, on his death, resolved to have his bones thrown out of the church: a vision, perhaps the arrangement of wiser politicians, deterred him from the vindictive measure. Ib. 883.

* This will appear to those who read attentively the parliamentary records of Edward I.

[37] In 1258, the summer was so unusually wet, that in many parts the harvest was not got in till the beginning of November. Fifteen thousand persons are stated to have perished in London of famine in this year. Pestilential disorders followed, filling the streets

CHAP. XIII.
REIGN OF HENRY III.

Crusade against the Albigenses.

The great reproach of England and France, in this and the preceding reign, and more especially of the religious head of Europe, who counselled, planned, and commanded the execrable measure, was the expedition against the Albigenses, and the unsparing cruelty with which it was pursued. From causes which in a subsequent part of this history will be stated, opinions hostile to the system of the papal hierarchy had for some time spread about the Alps and Pyrenees[38]. They had attracted the attention and the animosity of the restless Pope Innocent III.[39]; and the murder of his legate, who had begun the execution of his antichristian persecution, furnished a plausible pretext for pouring on these districts the vindictive fanaticism of all whom his bulls, indulgencies, and exhortations, could influence. Our countryman, Simon de Montfort, with a band of Englishmen zealous in their bigotry and hopeful of plunder, headed the crusade of inhumanity, which differed in nothing but in name from the ferocious expeditions of the Northman votaries of Thor and Odin[40]. The French princes emulously assisted. The less defensible towns of the miserable dissenters from the papal church, were speedily taken; above an hundred of their castles around Beziers and Carcason were evacuated in consternation[41]; the latter city fell; and at last Avignon

streets and roads with dead bodies. Matt. Paris, 969. 973. He says, if foreign corn had not been imported, even the rich would have scarce escaped. p. 973. This experience of the advantage of foreign commerce might have checked his ill-expressed dislike to foreigners, as 816. 911, &c.

[38] Matt. Paris places them in Gascony, Alby, Tholouse and Arragon, p. 241. They spread through Languedoc, Provence and Dauphine.

[39] The English reader will find an interesting detail of the measures adopted against the Albigenses, in Jones's History of the Waldenses, ch. 5. I commend this book with pleasure, though not always agreeing with its historical theories, as one of the most intelligent sketches of the History of the Christian Church that I have met with.

[40] The spirit of plunder which accompanied this crusade, may be inferred from the circumstance, that the Pope, king of Arragon, and Simon de Montfort, each demanded for himself the country conquered from the heretics. Matt. Paris, 245 & 329.

[41] Matt. Paris, 242. They utterly destroyed Beziers, and put above 10,000 men to the sword there. Rigord. de Gest. Phil. 214.

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Avignon was besieged. In vain the count of Thoulouse laboured to divert the storm; his submissions, his supplications, were rejected with disdain[42]. The Pope had a crusade preached through all France against him and his people, and fear and interest filled the hierarchal legions with multitudes of prelates and laity[43]. Nothing would satisfy the papal legates but the deposition of the count, and the surrender of his territory, which Simon Montfort claimed as the reward, perhaps as the price of his exertions[44]. With 50,000 knights, and foot innumerable, the king of France advanced to Avignon, resolved to take the city and desolate the country. A masterly defence kept the besiegers at bay, till the king of France perished as he deserved, during the continuance of the siege. Treachery devised by the legate, and executed by him and his clergy, at last obtained possession of the city; but not till 22,000 of the assailants had fallen the victims of their own rapacious bigotry[45]. St. Louis, the conscientious but misled king, who paid at last the penalties of a blind and narrow-minded zeal, by his capture at Damietta, and his death off Tunis, sent another

Can it be true, that when the assailants were about to storm the city, and inquired how they should act towards the true catholics within the walls—the answer of the abbot of Cisteaux was, "Kill all—God will know those who are his." Hist. Troub. 1. p. 193.

[42] Matt. Paris reveals to us the effect of this conduct in enlightening and alienating the mind of Europe: "It seemed to many a shameful thing to infest a faithful Christian man, who had offered, at the late council, and earnestly intreated the legate to come to each of his cities, and to inquire into the articles of their faith; and if he found any contrary to the Catholic creed, that he would then exact full justice from them, and satisfaction, if they rebelled. For himself he offered to give full satisfaction, and to be examined as to his faith. The legate treated all this with contempt; and the Catholic count could find no grace, unless he renounced his dominions both from himself and his heirs." Matt. Paris, 331.

[43] Plus metu regis francorum. Vel favore legati, quam zelo justitiæ inducti. Matt. Paris, 331. Rigordus describes the letters of the Pope as calling on them to destroy (delere) the heretics and their country, and giving absolution from all their sins, to those who fell on the expedition. De Gest. Ph. 207.

[44] Matt. Paris, 329.

[45] Ibid. pp. 333, 334. We see how injurious this persecution was to the interests of the papal see, by this honest monk declaring, after mentioning the calamities of the besiegers; "Whence it was perspicuously evident that the war had been unjustly undertaken, and that rapacity, rather than the extermination of heresy, was the great object." p. 334.

another army against the count, which his activity defeated[46]. Montfort, the original leader, fell in the siege of Thoulouse, shot by a projectile stone, and his brother about the same time perished[47]. The war was protracted till the celebrity of the attacked was diffused through Europe; and their dispersion, beneficial to mankind, spread the light of reformation over the dark hemisphere of Germany and Switzerland[48].

Its consequences.

To see popes, prelates, knights, and kings, thus emulously engaged in disgracing the benign spirit of Christianity, by connecting it with massacre and misery; and to observe, that even men 'smit with the love of sacred song,' and practising it in one of its most courtly and cultivated languages[49] at that period, could debase their popular talents by panegyricising the guilty transactions;—scenes like these, tend so much to afflict the mind with a contempt of its own nature, and with such a dread of its pervertibility,

[46] Matt. Paris, 349. The errors and misfortunes of St. Louis prove that even religion requires the governance of wisdom as much as any other principle of human action; perhaps more, as its alarms, hopes and energies, are greater. Joinville describes him to have thought, that to doubt any article of belief imposed by the papal church, was a temptation of the devil; to die with any doubt, would be the loss of his soul; and that it was his duty to exterminate heretics!!!

[47] Matt. Paris, 309. It is beneficial to mankind that history should remark the end of the sanguinary. Their stock seldom roots. The son of this Montfort was slain in the battle of Evesham.

[48] It was an origin worthy of the child, that the Inquisition began in these scenes. Mosh. Eccl. Hist. 13 Cent. c. 5. St. Donisngo, a Spaniard, was its author or principal abettor. How the Spaniards were estimated at that day we may see in Matt. Paris's description of them: Vultu deformes; cultu despicabiles; moribus detestabiles. p. 890. It corresponds with the origin of the inquisition, that after it had been fully abolished in Spain and in all Europe, a Spanish king should in 1814 be the first to restore it. If Spain continues it, she will present the anomaly of sinking to a level with her African neighbours, while all the rest of Europe is rising in knowledge, intellect, and in national greatness, their invariable product.

[49] The two most active Troubadours who thus disgraced their muse, were Folquet and Izarn. The first, after leading the life of a Troubadour, and singing on love and beauty, became a monk and bishop of Thoulouse. 1 St. Palaye, 179—204. The most furious was Izarn; a true dominican and inquisitor. From St. Palaye's collection we have his dispute with an Albigensian teacher. 2. p. 43. The fury of his soul is abundantly expressed in his prosaic verse—"See now, heretic! if thou dost not commit an infamous perfidy—Thou liest like a robber, and thou art in truth the thief of souls. Thou believest not, &c. Thou liest. If thou refusest to believe them,

pervertibility, that the candid thinker cannot be surprised that they have kindled in some bosoms a cynical misanthropism, and in others that vindictive antipathy which has even shaken the sacred pillars of Christianity itself. This result will always take place, where governments and hierarchies are intolerant; and this evil will always exist, where knowledge is not diffused among the people. Intolerance will expire only with the ignorance which perpetuates it. But all its actions, like those above noticed, however glossed by rhetoric or sophistry, are repugnant to the precepts and genius of that beneficent religion, whose name they assume, whose dominion they undermine. The offspring of superstitious bigotry, temporary politics, or passionate selfishness, they are as contemptible in their principle, as hateful in their execution.

But the triumph of the papal tyranny was in this instance signally instrumental to its own overthrow. The attack on the Albigenses was the birth-day of the Reformation. The absurdities of some of their opinions were forgotten in the atrocities of their opposers, and perhaps corrected by their own suffering[50]. From the

them, behold the fire which is burning thy companions, ready to consume thee.—What, still indocile—thou wilt not yield! But the flames and the tortures await thee, and thou art going to experience them. God ought to punish thee in hell worse than the demons. Before thou art delivered up to the flames, as thou wilt be if thou do not retract, I wish to ask thee—Whoever does not believe these things ought not to complain if he is seized and burnt? Every country where thy perfidious doctrine has been spread, ought to be swallowed up.—Unless thou confessest instantly, the fire is already lighted; thou shalt be proclaimed by trumpet through the city, and the people will assemble to see thee burnt." 2 Hist. Troub. pp. 48, 49. 52. 57. 59, 60. 69.

[50] It is just to the memory of the Troubadours to state, that some among them lashed the intolerance of the day. Guillaume Figueira quitted Thoulouse after the crusade, and went to Lombardy, where he became a Troubadour. But his invectives against Rome are as bitter as Izarn's against heresy. "I know they wish me ill, because I have made a sirvente against the false tribe of Rome, the source of all decline. I am not astonished that the world is full of error. It is you, deceitful Rome! who sow it with trouble and war. Your covetousness blinds you. You shear the wool of your sheep too close. If my prayers could be heard, I would bruise your beak. Rome! in whom all the perfidy of the Greeks is united; Rome! of evil manners and evil faith! who have made so great a carnage; who have established your seat at the bottom of the abyss of perdition; may God never pardon you your pilgrimage to Avignon. Without a cause, you have put innumerable people to death.

the expressions of our monkish historian, it is clear that some Englishmen sympathised with the persecuted; and we see the spirit of irreverence, towards the chief of the catholic hierarchy, rising high in the nation after these catastrophes. From this period, the opposition to the papal see took deep and lasting root in England; the minds of the great became visibly alienated, not only from the Pope, but also from his most effective institutions; parliament frequently expressed the new sentiment, and called for the diminution of the clerical power in the subtraction of its affluence; the lettered mind became critical on the opinions of the church; and when Wickliffe, in the next century arose, it was because he concentred and reflected the feelings and reasonings of the most intelligent and prevailing Englishmen of his day, that his doctrines became so popular, and his exertions so successful.

Tartar invasions.

One of the events that most alarmed Europe, in the thirteenth century, was the invasion of the Munguls and Tartars, under the celebrated Zengis Khan. The Christian world had been interested by the intelligence that a Tartar chief, denominated Prester John, the Khan of the Keraites, had adopted Christianity[51]; and his letters to the Pope and princes of Europe excited a hope that the hour was come for the conversion of the barbarous world. The continental states were roused from this flattering dream, by the victories of Zengis and his ferocious successors, who, after invading China, Carizme, and Persia, turned to the Volga, the Don, and the Borysthenes. They spread from Livonia to the Black Sea[52]. Moscow and Kiow were reduced to ashes, as they advanced. They

May the demons carry you to the fire of hell!" 2 Hist. Troub. 449, 450, 451. It is clear from these passages, that implacability and intolerance generated each other.

[51] One of the most original notices of this Prester, or Presbyter John, is that of Otto Frising. which he had from the bishop of Gabala. Chron. l. 7. c. 32. He had made himself the Khan of the Keraites. His daughter married Zengis Khan. Univ. Mod. Hist. l. 4. c. 1. This work contains a copious and satisfactory account of the Mogul, or Mungul Empire.

[52] Mr. Gibbon has described with force and spirit this new empire and invasions, in his sixty-fourth chapter, vol. 6. p. 288—310. See it in larger detail in the Mod. Univ. Hist. l. 4—8.

They penetrated to the Vistula, and from thence to the Danube. Their conquests and desolations stretched from the Baltic to Hungary. They passed the Danube on the ice. Of all the cities and fortresses of Hungary, three only survived the Tartar invasion; and they prepared to enter into the bosom of Germany, when Frederic II. an emperor worthy of the crisis, called on England and France, as well as on his German princes, to unite and resist the ruinous aggression[53]. The Tartars were awed by his exertions; and after wasting the adjacent kingdoms of Servia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, they slowly retreated to the Volga, and Europe began to respire from the ravages with which these savage hordes had afflicted its Eastern frontier[54]. This empire rather prepared the way for new changes than effected any, for it decayed after a short period of terrible celebrity. As they were originally pure Theists, hopes arose that they might be converted; and their Khan had some communications with Europe[55], but the impression was neither permanent nor extensive.

Minor incidents.

The other events of this long reign; the petty wars with France, the discussions with Scotland[56], the bickerings with Wales[57]; the papal offer of the crown of Sicily to Richard the brother of Henry, and

[53] Zengis Khan reigned from 1206 to 1227. His successors conquered the north of China in 1234—the southern 1279—Persia, and the empire of the Caliphs, 1258—Anatolia 1242—1272—Russia, Poland, Hungary, &c. 1235—1245.

[54] The alarm excited in Europe by the Tartar successes may be seen in the original letters from persons in Hungary, Poland, &c. describing them, in Matt. Paris Additam. 211—214. Antichrist was thought to be coming. Ib. p. 213.

[55] Matt. Paris, 770. He gives the Cham's Letter to St. Louis, translated from Arabic into French. It announces a liberal toleration of the Christians, but was not very consonant with the papal politics, in saying, "Il comande quen la loi de Crist ne soit *nule difference* entre *les Latins* e les Grius, e les Hermins e les Nestorins, e les Jacobins e tuz les autres ki aurent la croiz; kar cil sunt tuit une chose entre vus. The Cham's liberality must have startled the mind of St. Louis, for it was almost satire for him, after the crusade against the Albigenses, to read from a Tartarian emperor such language as this: "Ensi requerens nus ki li haut rois ne mette divisium entre aus; mais sa pité e sa debonairete soit sor tuz les Crestiens." Matt. Paris Additam. 179.

[56] See the treaty with this country, 1 Rymer, p. 374.

[57] M. Paris, 570; 624—626; 647; 938. They compelled prince Edward to retreat in 1257. Ib. p. 943. Their borders became a desert, p. 958.

and the subsequent grant of it to his younger son Edmund, a dignity which Henry was as eager to renounce as the Pope to impose[58], and which was indeed so nominal that the Sicilian historians do not condescend to notice it; it will be of no advantage now to detail: the incidents were of small importance, and their consequences transient.

Battle of Lewes.

The disputes between the king and his parliament increased in bitterness, as the faithlessness of the sovereign provoked the turbulence of his barons[59]. Absolved from his oaths by the Pope, Henry seized their castles, and attempted to be arbitrary[60]. The barons armed; the award of the French king was unproductive of peace; and both parties taking the field, the contest was at first determined favourably to the barons, by the battle of Lewes, in 1264, where Edward lost the victory by pursuing too far the London troops, whom he had defeated with his right wing. His father and uncle were taken prisoners in the other part of the field. His own retreat was prevented by the movement of Leicester, the baronial general; and he was compelled to accede to the propositions that were submitted to him[61]. The barons now became possessed of the government of the country, and they attempted to establish a new constitution[62]. Four officers in every county were appointed, with the title of conservators, who were ordered each to chuse four knights, to meet in parliament. The parliament,

[58] In 1252, the Pope offered Henry the crown. Rymer 476. In 1256, the Pope ordered him to send an army there on pain of excommunication. Ib. p. 611. In 1257, Henry appointed his commissioners to renounce the crown. Ib. p. 630.

[59] Henry, after his first grant of it, repeatedly swore to keep Magna Charta—M. Paris, 861. 867. 971; as often he violated his oath, ib. 862. 867. His parliament several times refused him supplies, ib. 852. 882. 887. 905.

[60] M. Paris, 991. The papers in Rymer's Fœdera give many particulars on these transactions.

[61] M. Paris, 995.—Robert of Gloucester, a contemporary, says, that before the battle, the barons sent to request the king,

"That he sholde vor Godes love, him bet understond,
And graunte him the gode lawes, and habbe pite of is lond;
And hii him wolde serve wel, to vote and to hond."—p. 546.

According to Langtoft, in Brunne's translation, in answer

"The kyng said on hie, Symon jeo vous defie."—p. 217.

[62] See Rymer, p. 792.

ment, when it met, named three high commissioners, who were invested with the power of choosing nine counsellors, to be intrusted with the administration; when two thirds of the counsellors did not unite in their opinions, the high commissioners were to decide; the king might dismiss the counsellors, with the consent of the commissioners; and the commissioners themselves, with the approbation of the barons.

Battle of Evesham. 1265.

This singular system, of whose necessity and utility we can now but imperfectly judge, but whose tendency if it had lasted would have operated to convert the English government into an aristocracy, was not permanent; the ambition of Leicester was suspected, from his retaining the prince Edward in confinement; and to appease the rising clamours, and avert the necessary opposition to his power, he summoned a parliament, composed of two knights from every county, and two burgesses from every borough[63]. The first measure of this parliament was the release of Edward, who, soon escaping from the authority of Leicester, collected forces to overthrow it. Near Evesham, the prince surprised and defeated in separate attacks the armies of both Leicester and his son, that were intending to unite. Leicester was killed, and the king recovered[64]. The royal authority was now re-established. The rest of the country submitted to it. The good sense of Edward concurred with the experience of past evils, to infuse a wiser and more popular spirit into the conduct of government, and its prudence was rewarded by the internal tranquillity which it produced[65].

Edward sails to Palestine.

St. Louis, desirous to begin his second crusade, invited Edward to join him. The prince, accompanied by his wife Eleanora[66], sailed to the coast of Africa, and endeavoured to persuade Louis to proceed to Palestine; but the French king resolving to accomplish

[63] Rymer, p. 802.

[64] W. Rishanger's Continuation of Matt. Paris, p. 998. All Leicester's property was confiscated and given to Edward's brother. Rymer, p. 830.

[65] The parliament summoned in 1267, were still free enough, when asked for money, to refuse it. Rishanger, p. 1002.

[66] Rishanger, 1006.

CHAP. XIII. REIGN OF HENRY III.

plish the subjection of Tunis, Edward retired to Sicily, to winter. Louis died in the autumn of 1271, of the plague; and his brother Charles of Anjou, who had destroyed the noble Conradin in Sicily, perished soon afterwards at sea[67]. Edward was struck by his catastrophe, and went to the Holy Land, resolved to take Acre. He succeeded[68]. His force was insufficient for greater exploits; but the fame of Richard had impressed a dread of English valour on the Mahomedan mind, and the prince by his own conduct so increased its alarm, that his assassination was attempted[69]. It was clear to his judgment that he had not the means of conquest, and therefore, making a truce of ten years with the Saracens, he returned to England, where he found his father just expired[70], leaving England, notwithstanding her late troubles, in a state of increasing prosperity, power, and population.

[67] Rishanger, 1007.

[68] Rishanger says, that he struck his breast, and fervently exclaimed, "Though all my compatriots should desert me, yet I will go with Fowen, the keeper of my palfrey, and enter Acre, though my soul should be separated from my body in attempting it." All the English volunteered to accompany him. p. 1007. [69] Rishanger, ib.

[70] He had reigned 56 years. In 1238, his life was endangered by a maniac, who is called an armiger literatus. He went to the palace at Woodstock, and demanded of Henry his kingdom. The king seeing his state of mind, forbad any one to hurt him, and he was dismissed. He found means in the night to climb in at the king's window with an unsheathed knife, and ran to the king's bed, who happened to be in another chamber. One of the queen's ladies, who was up, saw him, and shrieked violently. The attendants were alarmed. The maniac fastened the door. This was at last broken, and the delirious assassin secured. Matt. Paris, 474.—Reader! mark the difference between the spirit of those times and ours. After George the Third had been actually fired at by Hatfield, in the theatre, His Majesty magnanimously forbad any one to hurt the intending murderer; and when he was found to be a lunatic, he was only imprisoned for life. But Henry the Third, after his escape, though he saw this poor wretch to be deranged, ordered him to be drawn and quartered, and his mangled limbs to be exposed upon a robbers-cross! Ib.

END OF THE FIRST PART.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

PART II.

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

REVIEW OF THE CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF LITERATURE BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

CHAP. I.

THE general intellectual superiority of modern Europe over the ancient world, has originated from the new literature, and new sources of knowledge and improvement, which began to be cultivated after the tenth century. In England, the Norman Conquest forms that middle point where the shade begins to melt into light; every century that succeeded displayed new beams of the advancing sun; the dark ages of Europe disappeared, and all its continent became gradually and permanently enlightened.

But to appreciate justly the illumination we enjoy, and to explore satisfactorily its causes, it will be useful to consider the actual state of the literature of the Roman empire, when our Gothic ancestors overwhelmed it, and the failure of the efforts which they made to revive it. In this review, we shall see that when the Roman and Grecian mind ceased to be the ruling mind of the world, its incurable defects had made it necessary to the

improvement of mankind, that the literature of Rome should expire as well as its empire. The dark ages of Europe will then appear to have been an awful but salutary period; in which the Gothic mind was prepared to emerge into literary activity and original genius, exploring new mines of knowledge, exercising itself in new channels of thought, and displaying a sensibility, a strength, a persevering industry, and an universality, which no preceding age had witnessed. England had the distinction of contributing her full proportion to this noble result; and it will be a pleasing subject of our inquiries, to trace the steps and to expose the causes of her intellectual progress.

Decline of letters in the Roman empire.

The middle ages, extending from the fifth century to the thirteenth, present a gloomy period to our imaginations—an interval of desolation and ignorance—so often mentioned and regretted as to have become almost proverbial in the history of our literature. But our ancestors, as well as the other Gothic tribes, were rather its victims than its cause: they came into the Roman world with minds emulous for personal distinction; they sought this by war, while warfare only would give it, and they would have courted reputation from the pen as zealously as from the sword, if the pen would have conferred it. If the love and cultivation of letters had been as vigorous and as honourable at Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries, as they were in Greece, when the Romans mastered Corinth, we cannot reasonably doubt that the Gothic barbarians would have been captivated by the charms of literature, and have willingly co-operated with the conquered to have cherished and enlarged it. So Greece, uncultured, imbibed and improved the literature of Egypt; so the rude conquerors from the Tiber polished themselves from the improvements of the Grecian mind. But when the Ostro Goths, Heruli and Lombards, invaded Italy, and the Anglo-Saxons England, they found the Roman literature in a wretched

wretched and decaying state. Admirable as it once had been, it had outlived both its own beauty and utility; and to its degeneracy and decrepitude must be imputed the lamented eclipse of mind and learning which involved our ancestors in that night of ignorance and vacuity for which they are reproached. But this evil was their misfortune, not their fault. They met with no teachers to inform them; no living examples to imitate; no intellectual merit around them to respect or to imbibe; and it was not unnatural that they should neglect or despise what no one near them either valued or pursued.

The period of the literary excellence of the Romans had been as brief as sudden. It came upon them like a flood, from their conquest of Greece[1]; but it passed as rapidly away. From Ennius to Quintilian, it lasted little more than three centuries, and then declined with greater celerity than it had improved. All that is most valuable in Roman authors was produced before the middle of the second century of our æra; from that time the empire became more and more barren of intellectual harvests: literature not only degenerated in kind, but fell into a low estimation, and was cultivated by few. So steadily continuous was the decay, that if the Barbarians had not broken up the empire, letters, from the unceasing operation of the debilitating causes that were in action, would have sunk into dotage and inanity.

Ascribed by Romans to their moral degeneracy.

Some of the more intellectual of the Romans themselves perceived, lamented, and pointed out the causes of the decline, in the beginning of the second century. In the Dialogue on Oratory, ascribed by some to Tacitus, by others to Quintilian, we find their literary

[1] In Cicero's Oration for Archias, and in his dialogues de Senectute and de Amicitia, which are so valuable for the traits they have preserved of some of the great men of Rome, we have his sentiments on the introduction of literature into Rome from Greece. Cato's learning Greek in his old age, shews the eagerness with which the Romans applied to it.

literary deterioration acknowledged, and traced to their social degeneracy: "Who is ignorant that eloquence and the other polite arts have decayed from their ancient glory, not from a dearth of men, but from the dissipation of our youth, the negligence of parents, the ignorance of teachers, and the oblivion of ancient manners? These evils, first originating in the capital, spread through Italy, and now overflow all our provinces[2]."

In the next century, we have the corruption of the Roman genius, and the scarcity of its valuable produce, exposed and regretted by Longinus. He also traces the evil to moral causes. In addition to the loss of liberty, he says, "AVARICE, that disease of which the whole world is sick beyond a cure, aided by VOLUPTUOUSNESS, holds us fast in chains of thraldom; or, rather, overwhelms life itself, as well as all that live, in the depths of misery: for, love of money is the disease which renders us most abject; and love of pleasure, is that which renders us most corrupt[3]." His continuing observations illustrate his complaint with all the force of his elevated style[4]. The historian of the following

[2] Dial. de Orat. s. 28.—He details the progress of a Roman education in his day. The boy was first committed to a Greek maid-servant, then to some of the vilest of the slaves; and with their tales and errors his young mind was filled. Neither the domestics, nor even his own parents, cared what they did before him, but accustomed him to voluptuousness and licentiousness. Impudence soon followed, and a contempt both of others and of himself; and a passion for players, gladiators, and horses, thus became the prevailing vice of the city and age. Ib. s. 29. The disgusting state of Roman manners, as implied by Petronius, and satirized by Juvenal and Lucian, is an expressive commentary on such an education.

[3] Longinus, περὶ ὑψους. s. 44. I cite the English from Dr. Smith's spirited translation, pp. 176. 178.—Fabricius recapitulates the many writings of his that we have lost, in his Bib. Græca, v. 4. p. 443—448.

[4] "When once such corruption infects an age, it gradually spreads and becomes universal. The faculties of the soul will then grow stupid; their spirit will be lost; and good sense and genius must lie in ruins, when the care and study of man is engaged about the mortal, the worthless part of himself, and he has ceased to cultivate virtue, and polish his nobler part, the soul." Longin. ib. The satire of Juvenal has been called coarse; and that of Horace, refined: The real difference was, that the manners of Rome, in the days of Horace, were almost virtue, in comparison with their depravity in the time of Juvenal.

following age, his own work an example of the literary decline, describes the Romans as forsaking all literary study, and cultivating, instead, singing, music, and pantomime. The lower sort passed their nights at dice, or in taverns, or at theatrical indecencies; and the great mass, of all classes, wasted their time in criticising horse-races and charioteers. Their emulation lay in contending who should have the loftiest cars, or the most gorgeous apparel, deformed, from their bad taste, with large figures of animals; or in haunting the childless rich, in hope of being named the heir[5]. We cannot read his picture of the state of literature in the fourth century, without perceiving that the Gothic sword was not wanted to erase it from the Roman mind[6]. So dead to intellectual excitement had this degraded people by the sixth century become, that they defrauded the public teachers of their stipends for the education of youth, while they were lavish of the revenues on theatrical representations: and it was a Goth who was so struck with the absurdity, as to remark and to censure it, and to restore to the national instructors their just compensations[7].

The loss of the Roman liberties—the result of Roman vices—by closing those avenues of distinction and exertion which connect personal vanity and ambition with intellectual exercise and improvement, contributed to increase the literary degradation of the empire[8]. Mental eminence giving no substantial benefits, but fixing

[5] Ammianus Marcellinus, l. 14. c. 6.

[6] He says, "The few houses before celebrated for serious studies, now abound with the sports of a base sloth, resounding vocal echoes and the tinkling of lutes. For a philosopher, there is now a singer; and in the place of the orator, is the teacher of ludicrous arts. The libraries are shut like sepulchres for ever; hydraulic organs are the fashion instead, and lyres as large as chariots, and the instruments of the actors gesticulations. The followers of the liberal arts are expelled from the city without mercy, while the mimæ and three thousand dancers are retained in their room." Amm. Marcel. l. 14. c. 6. p. 18—24.

[7] See Athalaric's Letter, Cassiod. Ep. l. 9. ep. 21. p. 253.

[8] It is finely said by Longinus, "Liberty produces noble sentiments in men of genius. It invigorates their hopes, excites an honourable emulation, and inspires an ambition and thirst of excelling." s. 44. p. 173.

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fixing on its possessor the jealous eye of a military despot, ceased to be an object of pursuit. The love of distinction, which clings so close to the human heart, sought its gratification in the safer but degrading competition of accumulating wealth and expensive luxury, or voluntarily debased and suppressed its own energies in sensuality and sloth[9].

Even in Constantinople, which the Goths never subdued, literature lingered in a wretched state, from the fourth century to the fifteenth, affording some evidence of the condition to which it would have hastened in the West, if Alaric and Odoacer had never conquered the Capitol, and no Lombards had descended from the Alps.

Hence when the Goths told their queen that letters had no connexion with courage, and that boys accustomed to preceptors rods, would never learn to face the sword and the spear[10]; the sentiment was less the effusion of their barbarism than of their experience. The Roman civilization having become a debasing effeminacy, it is not surprising that our rude forefathers confounded the principle with its perversion, the corrupt depravation with the original excellence[11].

Gothic nations not unwilling to acquire literature.

The Gothic nations, although ignorant, were not averse to the cultivation of letters. Their great Theodoric, the Ostro-Gothic sovereign of Italy, earnestly encouraged them, and tried, through his

[9] The history of Rome, from Marius to Domitian, proves the inseparable connexion between private virtue and political liberty. The vices of Rome made it impossible for its freedom to continue. The more profligate a nation becomes, the more tyrannical its government must be, or the society could not exist. If the Roman gentlemen have been truly drawn by the arbiter elegantiarum, Nero and Caligula were more suitable emperors for them, than Titus or the Antonines. A nation of wild beasts could be governed only by a wild beast—wickedness by wickedness.

[10] Procopius has transmitted to us this circumstance. Goth. Hist. l. 1. p. 144. ed. Grot.

[11] The contempt into which the Roman name had sunk, from the degeneracy of the people, is forcibly implied by the sentiment of Luithprand, in the tenth century. He says, "We Lombards disdained them, and we put upon our enemies no other contumely, than to say, Thou Roman!"

his minister Cassiodorus, to animate the Italians to the love of study[12]. His daughter Amalasonta favoured them[13]; the prince, Athalaric, her son, revived the public schools of literature at Rome[14]; and Theodat, the next Gothic sovereign, learnt Greek and Latin, and was fond of Plato[15]. Even the ruder Lombards, who succeeded them in the sovereignty of Italy, became at last susceptible of the influence of literature, for a grammarian is mentioned about 700, whom the Lombard king so much loved, as to give him a staff adorned with gold and silver[16]; and when Charlemagne attacked their kingdom, he found a teacher at Pisa, from whom he derived his first knowledge of grammar[17], and another man of letters, to whom we are indebted for the History of the Lombard nation[18].

In Spain—in France—as soon as their Gothic conquerors were settled in their acquisitions, they began to cultivate literature. In our own Islands, the readiness to improve was equally conspicuous.

[12] The king in many of his epistles, composed by Cassiodorus, expresses his regard for literature. He tells Eugenius, that he has chosen him to the questura, "because he was laudably following the studies of literature, that the dignity of letters might become the reward of his honourable labour." Ep. 12. p. 14. He informs the senate, that he has raised a person to the honour of magistracy, who was resplendent with literary tuition, that he might wear dignity in name as he possessed it in merit. Ep. 13. p. 15. For the same reason, he appointed another to be the rector decuriarum. Ep. 21. p. 136.

[13] She was a woman of superior mind.—She restored to the children of Boethius and Symmachus their fathers possessions; and educated her son in letters, though her countrymen opposed it. Procopius Goth. Hist. l. 1. p. 143. She told the Senate of Rome, that letters adorned human nature. l. 10. ep. 3. p. 261.

[14] His edict for this purpose states, that it was infamous that any thing should be taken from the teachers of youth, who should rather be excited to their glorious studies. He proceeds to praise grammar, music, and eloquence. l. 9. ep. 21. p. 252.

[15] Procopius Goth. Hist. l. 1. p. 145. 154.

[16] Paul. Diac. de Gest. Langob. l. 6. c. 7. Muratori intimates, that the author remarks this as if a notable, and therefore rare thing, Ant. Ital. p. 810. The truth is, that Paulus particularizes him, because he was the uncle of his own preceptor. Some time before this rewarded grammarian, the Lombards had an historian named Secundus. Paul. Diac. l. 4. c. 42. and l. 3. c. 30.

[17] Muratori.

[18] This was Paulus Diaconus, whose History has survived to us. From his work we derive almost all that we know of the early transactions of this people, as the more ancient narrative of Secundus has perished.

spicuous. Ireland, though at that time supposed to be the wildest region of the West, yet was so teachable and so emulous of instruction, that in the seventh and eighth centuries she was an example to all Europe for the literary attainments of her natives[19]. The Anglo-Saxons as eagerly imbibed the lessons of the two monks sent from Rome to preside over their clergy, and furnished a Bede and an Alcuin to be the instructors of Europe[20]! It was not therefore the mental inaptitude or aversion of our forefathers to study, which kept them illiterate.

But although the Gothic nations would have eagerly studied literature, if they had found it in a flourishing or valuable state, yet it was happy for mankind that the intellectual decline of the Roman world was such, as to discourage and prevent their cultivation of that learning, which had lost all its primeval vigour and social utility. The Grecian and Roman literature had become not only ineffective to human improvement, but was in some of its objects so erroneous, and had been so perverted, as to be deteriorating and impeding it. I feel that I am treading on dangerous ground, when I speak of the defects and evil consequences of that classical literature, which we are educated to revere in our youth, and to panegyricise ever afterwards. But the character of this Work is meant to be a dispassionate independence of thought; a temperate freedom of inquiry: and though I may often fail to convince, and no doubt

[19] Bede, l. 3. c. 28. and Usher, Vet. Ep. Hiber. Sylloge. Dubl. 1632.

[20] See Muratori, Ant. Ital. p. 814. Our Alcuin was the principal instructor of Charlemagne and his age. One of his Irish assistants in the great task of instructing France and Italy, was Claudius Scotus, whose Commentary on the Galatians is printed in 1 Biblioth. Magna Patr. p. 794; and whose Work on St. Matthew is in MS. in the British Museum. Bib. Reg. 2. c. 10. and 4. c. 8. Another was Duncant, whose Commentary on Martianus Capella, addressed to his pupils at Rheims, is in MS. in the same library, Bib. Reg. 15. A 32. And see Heric's Letter, in 876, to Charles the Bald, and Joannes Erigena's Letter, in 2 Anglo-Sax. p. 377. In an ancient catalogue in the monastery at Pavia, written in the tenth century, is a book in Irish, under the head of "Books given by Dungal precipuus Scotorum." Murat. Ant. Ital. 1. p. 821.

doubt shall occasionally err, I hope my remarks will be read with that candour with which I will endeavour to express them.

We have been indebted to the Greeks and Romans for so large a part of our intellectual attainments, that we rarely allow ourselves to consider their works in any other light than their utility; and indeed they have conduced so much to the mental improvement of mankind, that our gratitude can hardly exaggerate the benefaction. But human genius is usually more adapted to the age in which it appears, than to the times that succeed; its effusions create improvements around it, which diminish its own future value. New genius, with new materials and new views, and acting in new directions, is then wanted. This appears; it benefits; and it becomes obsolete in its turn, from the good which it has imparted. Thus Orpheus, Homer, Pindar, Socrates, and Plato, successively arose for the advantage of mankind. In some degree the creatures of the age they adorned, they wrote for its necessities, its taste, and its approbation. Each of them left society better for his appearance, and therefore requiring other teachers to carry on its progression. But when, from political or moral changes, the manners and spirit of the succeeding ages prove unfavourable to the evolution of fresh talent, the progress of mind becomes stationary, and soon, receiving no impulse to advance by the rise of further benefactors, the cultivation that has been produced begins then to retrograde and decline, from the operation of its own imperfections, and from the adverse circumstances with which it is surrounded.

The classical literature had become incompetent to improve the world.

The Grecian and Roman literature experienced this fate. Both, in all their parts, successively benefited the world; but both had some peculiar tendencies, which, though beneficial in their first appearance, yet afterwards became mischievous. These, unfortunately, obtained the ascendancy in education and popular favour,

favour, as the moral and political state of the empire declined. They increased the degeneracy which fostered them; till literature itself was ruined by their operation, and became pernicious to human reason, and unworthy of its pursuit. These corrupting agents were, the Grecian sophistry and the Roman rhetoric.

Sophistical philosophy of Greece.

When Socrates diverted the Athenian mind from the study of astronomy and natural philosophy, to moral and political disputation, he seemed to be conferring a benefit upon his species; and if his authority and example had only given to ethics and polity a fair proportion of philosophical discussion, the boon which he imparted would have been great. But Socrates loved victory as well as truth; he sought often to confute rather than to instruct; a subtle distinction was as valuable in his eyes as a sound judgment: he preferred debate to observation, logic to knowledge[21]. Hence, without perhaps fully intending it, he excited in the Athenian, and, through that, in the Grecian mind, a love and practice of sophistical ingenuity, which, abandoning the patient study of nature, and the calm decisions of steady judgment, sought only to shine in argument and controversy. His acute method of confuting his adversary, was refined upon with increased effect by Plato[22]; and Aristotle, transcending both in logical acuteness,

[21] Socrates has been delineated by three contemporaries:—Aristophanes, Plato, and Xenophon; and by all dramatically. Each has pursued his own taste in exhibiting the conversation of the philosopher. The satirizing comedian has drawn him a mere sophist; his dialectic disciple, Plato, has exhibited him arguing and refining in a way that approaches much nearer to sophistry than the simpler Xenophon has chosen to pourtray. I doubt if we have the real Socrates from either, unless we take his features from all. Indeed when we consider that Cicero deduces the Academical Sect, always debating and never deciding, from Socrates—profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade (De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 14)—I cannot but feel that if Aristophanes caricatured, yet that he saw justly the tendency of the mental habit which Socrates was practising. Lucian also treats Socrates with disrespect; and Maxim. Tyrius, in four discourses, strives hard to justify him.

[22] It is impossible to reconcile the Ἀπομνημονευματα of Xenophon, which consists of the conversations of Socrates, with the works of Plato, which are all dialogues of the same revered Sage, without supposing either that Plato

acuteness, invented systems and forms of intellectual debate, which sharpened the subtilizing talents of every sect, and filled Greece with wranglers, with contending systems, and everlasting controversy[23]. An electrical activity became the character of the Grecian mind; but it was restlessness, without produce. Agitated by eternal debate, never ending but in scepticism that mocked all moral principle, or in a keener resolution to resume the weapon and refight the battle; the Grecian lost the tact for the appreciation of either moral or physical truth, and both the ability and the wish to acquire it[24]. The floating knowledge of his day, that preceding ages had acquired, he imbibed as it passed, for its showy or offensive utility; but he added nothing to its amount; and judgment was dispersed in disputatious pertinacity. Personal distinction by argument becoming the actuating principle of all, and the defeat of a competitor the favourite object, the mental evil was prolific of moral disorder; and falshood, faithlessness, and profligacy, became the characteristics of a Grecian[25].

Rhetorical literature of Rome.

When Rome aspired to prevail in the empire of letters, she certainly

Plato has remembered and imitated his master's most artful manner of disputing, or has refined upon it to exhibit his own genius. When I see, in Xenophon, Socrates condescending to teach a courtezan how to practise her trade, I cannot but think that he loved a reputation for ingenuity full as much as moral utility.

[23] Aristotle took the art of debate out of the dialogue form of Plato, and gave it that regular and well-organized system, which long seduced the acute and speculative of various ages and nations.

[24] The three hundred opinions on happiness which the Grecian schools maintained, are a sufficient elucidation of their love of useless and endless disputation. Perhaps the best account, in the fewest words, of the absurd and contradictory opinions of the Greek philosophers, even the greatest, on the awful subject of the Deity; and of their gross self-inconsistencies, even of Aristotle; is in the sketch drawn by Velleius, in Cicero's de Nat. Deorum. These opinions he truly calls non philosophorum judicia sed delirantium somnia. l. 1. p. 32. Glasg. ed.

[25] Lucian felt the diversity of the Grecian philosophic sects, and their disputes and contradictory lives, to be so absurd, that he is perpetually satirizing them. Maximus Tyrius, who lived about the time of the Antonines, says emphatically—"If you place philosophy in words and names and artifices of phrase; in argument, contention, and sophisms; it is not difficult to find a master. All things with us are full of sophists. This is a flourishing profession, and manifest to every one." Dissert. 37. ed. Heins. p. 218.

certainly introduced into them a masculine decision and steadiness of thought, and a solidity of judgment, which promised to correct the volatility and perversions of the Grecian mind. In Cicero and Seneca, in Tacitus and Quintilian, a good sense, a moral wisdom, a sound thoughtfulness appear, which are rarely to be found so continuous, and so little mixed with verbosity and absurdity, in any Grecian writers. But unfortunately, from the nature of the civil institutions of Rome, oratory became the fashionable object of all Roman education. It was indeed, at first, oratory formed on the largest acquisition of knowledge, that books, instructors, or personal labour, could supply[25]; it was oratory actuated by the noblest impulses that a free state could create, or a cultivated mind obey[26]. But when her republic fell, and her morals vanished, the orator dwindled to the mere rhetorician; the verbal diction became the subject of general pursuit, not the full-fed mind; the trick and the deceit, not conviction and honourable persuasion. The effects were most pernicious. Rhetoric, like sophistry, separated from real principle, is a selfish combatant, who aims at personal display, and prefers victory to justice; it deludes both its author and his audience; it enervates the judgment which uses it, and spoils the mind accustomed to hear it: aiming to overpower the reason, by exciting the sympathy, it abandons knowledge for phrase, sense for sound, and truth for gesture, declamation, and delusion. But when the Grecian sophistry became combined with the Roman spirit of oratory, the perversion of the human mind reached its height. Controversy became

[25] Cicero, in his Treatise de Oratore, is emphatic on this point. Quintilian urges the acquisition of logic, ethics and natural philosophy, law and history, music and geometry. l. 12 and l. 1.

[26] Quintilian begins his twelfth book with proving, that virtue is indispensable to the orator. He calls it the quality by which we approach nearest to the nature of Deity itself. l. 12. c. 2.

became the delight of the studious; Pyrrhonism corrupted the philosopher; and cavil and declamation characterized their literature[27]. So inveterate was the intellectual mischief, that even the genius of Christianity, which condemned it, sank into its trammels; and a dogmatical, passionate, rhetorical, and polemical theology appeared in Greece, which ruined its judgment and feeling, repeatedly stained its streets with human blood[28], and has infected religious discussions ever since. We cannot read the works of the Greek fathers, and of their contemporary Pagan philosophers, and many Latin controversialists, without perceiving that we are not conversing with men of sound judgment, expansive knowledge, moral feeling, or elevated intellect—but for the most part with the rhetor and the sophist; with verbose and declamatory egotists; with men fertile to envy, in the concatenation of words, and in the tactics of phrase; with intellectual gladiators and theatrical

[27] Indeed how could it be otherwise, in an age when the followers of Epicurus were inculcating atheism and materialism, and discouraging the study of the sciences?—when those of Aristippus were urging sensual pleasures to be the summum bonum—when those of Pyrrho doubted the existence of every thing—and the Academics disputed equally on both sides of every question, this day arguing in favour of justice, and the next day against it, as Carneades did even before Cato—when the Peripatetics used in their syllogistic organum, the means of eternal debate—when the Stoics contended against all—and the Eclectics increased the Babel confusion of philosophy, by struggling to unite all—And especially, when we find from Quintilian, that these disputants seemed bound to their different sects by a sort of religious obligation, and thought themselves guilty of something criminal if they deserted the persuasion which they had once embraced? Inst. l. 12. c. 2.

[28] On the religious and civil factions of Constantinople, and the Grecian hierarchy, see Gibbon's History, in many places. Under the reign of Anastasius, the Grecians, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred at a solemn festival, 3,000 of their Blue adversaries. The Blues retaliated bitterly. In the Nika sedition, in the reign of Justinian, in which both factions engaged, the Blues signalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed that above 30,000 persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Gibbon Hist. c. 40. v. 4. pp. 61. 69. Mr. Gibbon loves to describe the controversies and conflicts of the Grecian clergy. His satirical portrait is an important accession to the cause of human welfare, as it makes such conduct too odious to be reacted.

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Effects of these evils.

theatrical exhibitors, to whom debate was the most felicitating employment, and popular applause a necessary sustenance[29].

The rhetorical spirit gave a character of declamation to all the literature of Greece and Rome, after the second century, and shaped and governed their studious education[30]. On this principle their minds were taught to think and write; and it is amusing so see Cassiodorus, one of the last of the literary Romans, the chief minister of Theodoric, striving to pen his sovereign's official orders with the elaborate amplifications of the orator[31].

The

[29] The logical and metaphysical works of Ammonius, Plotinus, Proclus, Jamblichus, Porphyry, and others of the philosophers, have given me the impression mentioned in the text. The controversial works of the Greek fathers display the same mind and manner on different subjects, with additional acrimony. In Mr. Boyd's elegant Selections from some of the most celebrated orations of the Greek fathers, we see their rhetoric in profusion. The feeling of egotism, never concealed, pervades all their discourses. It must have been the national characteristic, or it would not have been so much expressed, and could not have been so patiently endured. In St. Gregory's funeral oration on his brother, we have a specimen how anxious the preacher was, even on this melancholy occasion, to protrude himself to the notice of the audience. See Mr. Boyd's translation, pp. 122, 123, 127, 136; 139—143.

[30] Rhetorical sophistry has been so engrafted in the Grecian literature and genius, that it is even now reviving with the reviving literature of modern Greece. Constantinos Oikonomos, the present professor of philology at Smyrna, has found it necessary, in the preliminary discourses to his Τεχνης Ρητορικῆς, lately printed at Vienna, to caution his pupils against it: "Exercise your intellectual faculties with all the dignity that becomes a man, but avoid those disputations and wranglings in which *the Sophists of our day* so greatly delight. The present state of literature in Greece is not so absolutely wretched, as that our youths should abandon themselves entirely to the study of the problems and sophisms of dialectics." Panor. No. 99. p. 1062.

[31] The object of the order was, that Symmachus should cause a son, who had attempted parricide, to be brought before him for judgment.—It is introduced with two pages of rhetorical common-place on filial ingratitude, with such imagerical arguments as these: "The whelps of wild beasts follow their parents; the shoots of trees do not quarrel with their stem; the branch of the vine obeys its own stock; and shall man differ with his own source?—The care of the ancestor does not shun the seas themselves, excited by cruel tempests, that he may gain by foreign merchandize what he may leave his children. The birds themselves, seeking food, stain not their nature with ingratitude—The stork, the herald of the returning year, throwing off the sadness of winter, introducing the hilarity of the vernal season, delivers to us a great example of piety; for when their parents droop the wings from old age, nor can be found fit to seek their own food, they, cherishing the cold limbs of their parents with their wings, refresh their wearied frames with nourishment, and till the aged

The Roman education being thus essentially rhetorical, precluded a taste for science, true judgment, or simplicity. The tropes and figures of rhetoric became an elaborate study. We have treatises on these, with names, distinctions and niceties, which a Kant might envy[32]. These verbal discriminations, so useless, because they have never made an orator, but so mischievous, because, whenever seriously studied, they tempt students to be as absurd as their teachers, were begun by the Greeks, the great masters of wordy ingenuity[33]. The Romans emulously cultivated the specious but ineffectual art; and verbal rhetoric became a favourite subject of composition[34]—not the intellectual eloquence of Cicero and Demosthenes, but the minute rhetoric of the narrow-minded critics

aged bird can be restored to its primeval vigour, their young progeny, with pious vicissitude, return what, when little, they received from their parents." He then goes on to the partridges, and after another long simile from them, at last gives the royal order. Cass. Ep. l. 1. ep. 14. p. 44.—Another specimen of the rhetorical statesman follows in the fortieth letter. The king writes to Boethius, that the king of the Franks wished a harper. His minister takes occasion, from this circumstance, to pour out six pages of rhetoric on the use and history of music; and this to Boethius, who had written on the subject. Almost all the state letters are in this style.

[32] Being good Greek, it would be profane to call them barbarous; otherwise the names given by Rutilius Lupus, to his Figures of Elocution, might have tempted the application of this epithet—Prosapodosis, Synathroesmus, Paradiastole, Anaclasis, Epiphora, Coenotes, Polyptoton, Epanalepsis, Epiploce, Polysyndeton, Anancæon, Brachyepia, Syscevasis, &c. &c.

[33] The Greeks were not satisfied until they traced out these oratorical beauties in Homer; and the largest part of Dion. Halicarnasseus' Life of him is devoted to this fanciful subject. The treatise of Lupus, De Figuris Sententiarum, was drawn up from the Greek of his contemporary Gorgias, as that of Aquila was from the Greek Numenius. The works of many of the Grecian rhetors still exist, and have been published by Aldus.

[34] Besides the rhetor Lupus, we have Aquila Romanus de Figuris, and Julius Rufinianus on the same topic:—and the longer treatise of Curius Fortunatianus, entitled, Artis Rhetoricæ Scholicæ, in which he defines an orator to be, "a good man skilled in speaking." p. 53. The Expositio on Cicero's Rhetoricon, by Marius Victorinus a rhetor of Rome, is also a copious work. The Institutiones Oratoriæ of Sulpitius Victor are the instructions he composed for his son-in-law. Emporius the rhetor entitles his work de Ethopoeia ac loco Communi. We have also the Principia Rhetorices of Aurelius Augustinus—and the Syntomata Rhetoricæ of Julius Severianus. To these we may add, Rufinus's hexameter verses de Compositione et Metris Oratorum, and Priscian's de Præexercitamentis Rhetoricæ, taken from Hermogenes, and Martianus Capella de Rhetorica Liber.

critics of words, epithets, particles, cases and sentences[35]. Though treatises swarmed on this unworthy subject, yet such a favourite was the study, that it was never thought exhausted; and it is perhaps one proof of its general cultivation, that so many works upon it have survived, while nobler authors have perished. Boethius condescended to add the efforts of his mind, fit for better things, to this popular subject; and, rather stimulated than discouraged by the numbers that had preceded, Cassiodorus also furnished the sixth century with his Rhetoricæ Compendium[36]. The continuation of such compositions shows how inveterately the love of rhetoric was rooted in the Roman mind.

The Gothic nations imbibe the rhetorical spirit.

From this direction of the Roman literature and tuition, rhetoric became a principal object of application among those Gothic nations who made the Roman literature their study and their model. We find Isidore writing on this subject in Spain[37]. Even our simple-minded Bede employed himself in searching the Sacred Writings for these verbal ornaments, from his anxiety to shew that they were not deficient in this popular requisite[38]; and Alcuin thought

[35] To give an instance. Aquila says, p. 28, The following sentence contains three figures: the isocolon, the homœoptoton, and the diezeugmenon. "The Athenians fortified with colonies that part of Asia which is called Ionia: the Dorians occupied that region of Italy which is named Magna Græcia." The disjunction of two connected sentences, is the ornament they call diezeugmenon. The similarity of cases which appears in the Latin of the above, is the homœoptoton; and the combination of the two sentences, the two equal colons, they call the isocolon.—Yet of such trifling, Aquila says, "These things are the peculiar office of the orator. By this science he raises the little; he expands the contracted; he rapidly gives ornament, force and weight, to his words and sentences. Nothing can equal this in affecting the minds of the hearers and judges." p. 15.

[36] See his Work, vol. 2. p. 454.

[37] In his De Arte Rhetorica Liber, with the feeling of a Christian writer he also makes the recommendation of Quintilian an essential part of his definition: "Orator est *vir bonus* dicendi peritus."

[38] See his book De Tropis sacræ Scripturæ. He says, The Grecians *boasted* that they were the repertores of such figures and tropes; but that the world might know that the Bible ipsa preeminet positione dicendi, he wrote his book. His instance, from some Latin writer, of the Paroimion, is one of the completest

thought it necessary to instruct his imperial friend and patron in this popular art, and has left a dialogue upon it between himself and Charlemagne[39].

Rhetoric, thus adopted into the education of the barbaric mind, soon materially characterized their literature. In Spain, in the seventh century, we have the work of St. Ildephonso on the Immaculate Virginity, which displays the oratorical style, tinged with polemical arrogance in its full exertion—in all its pompous inanity, and mischievous verbosity, violent, passionate, dictatorial and unmeaning[40]. Eulogius was visibly formed from the same school[41]. And even a letter written from that country attempts the absurdity of rhetorical diction, and proves how carefully the Roman rhetoricans were studied[42]. Among our Anglo-Saxons, Aldhelm, so admired as to be praised by Malmsbury above four centuries after his death, has left us an elaborate work written in this spirit, which is

most fantastic specimens of alliteration that I have seen:

"O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti."

This equals Aldhelm's prose (Ang. Sax. vol. 2. p. 367.) and outdoes even the Welsh bards, who delighted in this caricaturing ornament.

[39] In this he tells the Emperor, that rhetoric drew mankind, from wandering like wild beasts in the woods, to houses, society, and religion. He pays him a compliment in the true style of his art: "The spark of my small genius can add nothing to the flame-breathing light of thy wisdom."

[40] "What say you, O Jew! what do you propose? what do you meditate? what do you oppose? what do you object? Behold our virgin—She is thine by stem, thine by race, thine by root, thine by country, thine by people, thine by nation, thine by origin. But from our faith she is ours—ours from belief, ours from assent, ours from reverence, ours from honour, ours from praise, ours from glorification, ours from choice, ours from love, ours from preaching," &c. p. 95. This is harmless nothingness. Other parts of his empty declamation are mischievous: "Hear me, thou Eluidius! attend to me, thou impudent one; hear me, thou immodest one; look at me, dishonest man. Behold me, thou shameless! What, are you disturbing with your indecency! What, unblushing, are you urging? What, deceiver, are you attempting? What art thou attacking without reverence? What, without bashfulness, art thou afflicting?" Bib. Mag. Pat. t. 9. p. 94.

[41] See his Memorialis Sanctorum.

[42] It is from Alvar to Eulogius:—In this he says, "The fiery-haired traveller of the center, dwells, as soon as he rises, in the eyes of Heaven."—The whole letter is not only rhetorical, but aims to be so—for it talks of the redundant oratory of the Tullian fountain, of the fervent genius of Demosthenes, the rich eloquence of Cicero, and the florid Quintilian; and commends his friend for adding to the divine food the florem rhetoricum. Ib. t. 9. p. 338.

is remarkable only for being one tissue of extravagant metaphor, of inflated, exaggerated and unprofitable declamation[43]. The same style, notwithstanding our Alfred's correcting example, repeatedly emerged in Edgar's legal charters, probably penned by St. Dunstan. It abounds in the works of the Anglo-Norman monks, who had formed themselves on Roman literature, even in the twelfth century, when better things had begun to appear[44]. In other nations, the same taste, the same absurdity, appears[45]. It suited indeed many of the subjects on which it was lavished—the exaggerated lives of saints politically canonized by papal mandate—and the fallacious recommendations of useless relics. The rhetorical style still marks the ecclesiastical literature of Spain, Portugal, and Italy, which is chiefly formed upon the Latin classics and fathers. It is always rhetorical, and it is little else.

Its injurious effects on the human mind.

The instances alluded to, are adduced as striking specimens of the ill effects that have arisen from the exclusive study of the Roman literature, and from giving education an oratorical direction. But the

[43] This work is entitled, S^i Aldhelmi Liber de laudibus Virginitatis. Every page of it is in the rhetorical style, and is meant to be so as its merit and character, "de intactæ virginitatis gloria *rhetoricamur*." p. 367. He says, "Having placed the rhetorical foundations, and built up the walls of prose, I will lay on a most firm roof with trochaic tiles and dactylic bricks of metres." p. 368. Every sentence contains a trope and a metaphor. It is made up of sixty chapters of rhetorical figures, the whole meaning of which may be expressed in three words, "Virginity is praiseworthy."

[44] Thus in the writers of Becket's Life we have as the praise of a prelate—that he was the morning star of the heavenly firmament, a most glowing carbuncle, the refulgent bow among the clouds, the lily in the flowing waters, the rose in spring, frankincense flaming in the fire, a solid vessel of gold, a lily of purity, a rose of modesty, the viol of celestial conversation, the music of jocund society, the pillar of justice, the infrangible adamant of constancy. Quadril. l. 1. c. 21. in the old edition; c. 16. in the later.

[45] This rhetorical declamation became the character of all the ecclesiastical writings (not scholastic) of the middle ages; not indeed with equal spirit or ingennity; there is the dull rhetoric as well as the animated. But the rhetorical tone of mind, not reasoning, not comparing, not inquiring, not judging, but merely putting together phrases and common-places; amplifying and declaiming; labouring at style without knowledge, combining words without distinct ideas, repeating the quindecies repetita, and aiming to be oratorical; must strike all who will take the trouble to read the Latin works that preceded the fourteenth century, and many since.

the evil did not rest on particular examples of extravagance. The world might have smiled at such things, and forgotten them; the Greeks might have made half a dozen distinctions of irony, and given their discovery importance by hard names[46], and have amused themselves with a hundred follies of that sort; if no other consequence had followed. But they inoculated the whole literary world with the delusion, as a merit; and fixed on the human mind a rhetorical fashion and tendency, which ensured its depravation, and precluded its improvement. Men were laboriously educated to think in these trammels, or rather, to lose all thought and reasoning in recollecting and pursuing these unmeaning niceties of phrase. Nor was any discrimination made as to the merit of such things: the notable paroimion above quoted from Bede, and all the schemata, tropes and figures, which the Greeks vaunted to be their discoveries, were carefully noted, repeated and recommended with the same general sentences of introductory panegyric, as if all were equally beautiful—all the intentional produce of genius—all the sanctioned ornaments of good taste. The consequence could be no other than it was. The literary strove to excel in rhetoric, not in knowledge; the rhetors multiplied like dancing masters; science declined; good taste departed. Literature was no longer esteemed for itself; it was cultivated but as vanity or interest required; grosser amusements pleased better; and knowledge was fast expiring in the Roman world when the Goths invaded.

When the love of letters began to rise in the dark ages, this rhetorical literature spread with it; it was no longer confined to judicial causes; it was deemed a necessary accomplishment to all. Oratory supplies us with the grace of words, says Theodoric[47]. It is the science of speaking well, exclaims Alcuin; who makes his emperor

[46] Rufinianus gravely details these from Numenius: the chleuasmus, or epicertomesis; the charientismus, or scomma; the asteismus; the diasyrmus; the exuthenismus; and the sarcasmus.

[47] Cassiod. Ep. p. 83[b].

emperor reply, "Then explain to us the rules of the rhetorical discipline, for necessity compels us to be exercised in them every day:"—and, having heard his preceptor's lessons, he is taught to add, "Who shall dare to say that we have discoursed in vain, if he be an inquirer into the liberal arts, or a follower of the excellent virtues[48]?" So that rhetoric was at last supposed to be the key of knowledge, and the handmaid of morality.

The defects of a rhetorical education are obvious. The mind so instructed and contorted, may give new turns to its commonplaces, may disturb language into new phrases, and declaim with well-sounding volubility on the familiar topics of the academy; but if it act in this direction for ages, it will not add one fact of useful knowledge, nor evolve one natural feeling, nor attain to any new truth. Rhetoric is essentially conversant with words, not with things. Like the syllogism of Aristotle, it may enforce what is known; it will discover nothing that is unknown. It will be still but the new rhetor following the old rhetor in the same trodden circle, disturbing afresh the same dust, and moving round in the same trammels, but never emancipating itself from its bondage, never discovering a new path of intellect, nor able to achieve one original flight.

The spirit of rhetorical criticism has now happily ceased. We do not now inquire what tropes and figures a poem contains; we do not now hunt, like the Grecian rhetors, for such things as the metalepsis or the antonomasia; for the diasyrmus, the charientismus or the litotes. Though some authors have tried to make rhetoric easy[49] among us; and metrical distributions of figures have been published, containing "a noble fund of tropo-schematological knowledge,"

[48] Alcuin de Rh. Lib. 390 & 409. apud Ant. Rhet. Capperonerii.

[49] Mr. John Holmes took this trouble, in 1754, in his Art of Rhetoric made Easy; wherein he tells us, that he had "sold 6,000 of his Latin Grammars; near 4,000 of his Greek Grammars with this Treatise; and the rest in due proportion." Pref.

knowledge[50]," for the torment of unfortunate schoolboys; yet this spirit and these discriminations have never obtained a standard place in English literary criticism, and have never been aimed at by English authors.

Grecian literature equally declines.

The Grecian literature had become as unprofitable. Its philosophers had argued themselves into almost as many theories as there were disputants. Their theologians were prolific of heresies, contentions, and superstitions. Their emperors were polemical partisans; sectarian chieftains; not the impartial sovereigns of an enlightened nation. The discussions being always upon words, or the selfish conflicts of factious violence and acrimonious bigotry, never benefited the intellect. But the Greeks seem to have deceived themselves, by the perfections into which they had wrought their sweet and copious tongue. They mistook novelty of phrase, for novelty of idea; they believed that they had started an acute refinement of thought, when they had only made a new distinction and arrangement of a beautiful diction. If we were not captivated by the charms of the language, and of their ancient fame, rather than by the utility of the matter, the reveries of Jacob Behmen would appear as important and as intelligible as many of the metaphysical reasonings of Plotinus, Ammonius, and Proclus. What mind, enlightened by modern science, can value them for any real discrimination of thought, or for the discovery or exposition of any additional knowledge!

The Grecian fathers emulated the sophistry and rhetoric of their philosophical opponents, and a wordy luxuriance of useless subtleties

[50] So says Holmes of Mr. D. Burton's Figuræ Metricæ, composed for Durham school, containing 142 Latin hexameters, each with such Gorgon names to poor school-boys as these—Verba Epanorthosis revocans addensque reformat; Aposiopesis reticet, remque innuit omnem; Rem negat Apophasis, quam transgreditur Paraleipsis. The rhetorical enthusiast liberally promised to each of his scholars "sixpence, whoever he is, that will learn 'em [these 142 lines] by heart, and *repeat 'em to him with understanding*." p. 32. Our schoolboys of former days must have been made indefatigable blockheads.

subtleties and theatrical declamation was their ambition and their disgrace[51]. They became admirable combatants; they fought with all the ardour and tactics of fierce and disciplined warriors. But their triumphs were the destruction of their religion; and it became necessary to discipline Christianity, by the introduction of Mahomedanism, in order to preserve it.

Pursuing these considerations to their consequences, we cannot wonder that the Grecian literature had declined into insignificance in the ninth and tenth centuries[52]. It is certainly a remarkable fact, that both the Grecian and the Roman literature were unable to sustain themselves. They not only became incompetent to improve the world—they could not even continue their own existence. They neither corrected their evil tendencies, nor those of society, nor preserved their real merit. They became neglected and discredited in their own countries, where they had once so vigorously flourished; and when the barbarous nations attempted to transplant them into the Gothic soil, they produced but a feeble vegetation, which soon hastened into decay.

Let us now contemplate their revival in England, and its intellectual result. This will enable us more completely to ascertain their value; and to mark the utility of the new direction and occupations in which the English and European mind was after the Norman conquest eagerly engaged.

[51] Rhetoric should not be taught as an art, or the mind will be injured by the tuition. The treatises upon it, from Aristotle to Cassiodorus, should be forgotten. Knowledge is the first requisite; a frequent perusal of those who have been truly and honourably eloquent, the second; the formation of a correct judgment is the third; and the habit of public speaking is the last. Pericles and Demosthenes astonished Greece before the rhetors rose.

[52] In the ninth century, Bardas *began* to open schools of good letters in Constantinople. Curopalates says of him, that he had "a knowledge of foreign wisdom, which had long declined, and had almost wholly perished. There was then so great a penury of learned men in Greece, that it was necessary to search them out with great diligence, living concealed here and there in corners, and in want. There was no vestige of schools in Athens at that time." Baronius Annal. 1. p. 180.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. II.

HISTORY OF THE REVIVAL OF THE LATIN LITERATURE IN ENGLAND, AFTER THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

CHAP. II.

Latin literature of the Anglo-Saxons.

THE first literature that arose in England, after the Saxon invasion, was the Roman; introduced by the monks, whom Gregory the Great had sent from Italy. A little Greek was added by one of them[1], but it did not lead to the permanent cultivation of Greek literature. The books that were placed and studied in the Anglo-Saxon libraries, were, the Roman classics and fathers[2]; and the works of the few Anglo-Saxon students who emerged into celebrity, were little else than transcripts, imitations, and revivals of that species of literature, which had fallen with the Western empire.

Its decline.

When Alfred endeavoured to direct his countrymen to intellectual cultivation, it was the Roman literature which he presented to their contemplation, in his translations of Boethius and Orosius; and

[1] Bede, l. 4. c. 1. The Anglo-Saxon mode of pronouncing the Lord's Prayer in Greek, as given in Hist. Anglo-Sax. v. 2. p. 361. from a Saxon MS. shews how little it was understood; the words are divided so as to prove that they were repeated by mere parrots.

[2] See the list in Hist. Anglo-Sax. v. 2. pp. 362, 363.

and even in Gregory and Bede, who were little else than the Latin fathers reflected and unimproved. This species of letters did not advance the Anglo-Saxon mind. After Alfred's death, it rapidly declined. Dunstan and his friends endeavoured to revive it, but in vain. England became under its tuition, a degenerating people. The Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature could give no intellectual succour; for it was of little value, and was never improved: and at the period of the Norman conquest, all sort of learning had almost vanished out of our Island. Such was the state of its most intellectual body, the ecclesiastic, that we find it declared that "the studies of learning and religion had become obsolete; the clergy, contented with a disorderly literature, could scarcely stammer out the words of their sacraments; it was a miracle to the rest if any of them knew grammar[3]." The Anglo-Saxon monks are described to have been stupid and barbarous, living like the laity; following hounds and falcons, racing with horses, shaking the dice, and indulging bacchanalian jovialities where they had the means[4], and in other places existing in the most sordid poverty[5]. Even the archbishop and bishops, in the time of the Confessor, are noticed to have been illiterate and sensual men[6]. And thus the Roman literature was found to be as ineffective to general improvement in England, as it had been in Italy. Though transplanted among a new people, and patronized by a popular king and a venerated prelate, it never displayed a vigorous or an extensive produce; the national intellect declined under its tuition; and England added another proof of its incompetency alone to regenerate or to fertilize the understanding.

The Normans, fond of pomp, and craving personal distinction[7], roused

[3] Malmsb. l. 3. p. 101.

[4] Ib. pp. 214. 254.

[5] Thus in the cathedral of Rochester, there were scarcely four canons, and these had "to endure life with a scanty food, casually obtained from meal to meal." Malms. p. 233.

[6] Malmsb. 204. 256.

[7] Ib. 256. Normanni famæ in futurum studiosissimi. p. 238.

roused the English mind from this intellectual trance, and excited that literary spirit, and commenced that system of education, which, assisted by new sources of instruction, produced a love and cultivation of knowledge which has never since departed from the British isles. The Norman love of fame spread from their warriors to their clergy; the Anglo-Saxon sensuality was corrected, and general emulation produced universal improvement[8]. But how came the Normans, whose ancestors but 150 years before had been fierce pirates, to be the revivers of literature in England and France? ignorant themselves, whence came their knowledge and literary taste? From the presence and activity of one individual, himself of barbarous descent—from the celebrated Lanfranc.

Revived by Lanfranc.

Letters were declining in France[9], notwithstanding the taste and exertions of the Carlovingian family to nationalize the Latin literature within it, when Lanfranc, a Lombard, unknown to fame and unconscious of his future importance to mankind, was attracted by the military reputation of the Normans to quit his native country, Pavia, and to open a school at an obscure village in their Duchy[10]. His humble hopes were shewn in the lowly choice of his residence. The abbey of Bec was the poorest and most insignificant

[8] The degeneracy of the Anglo-Saxon manners is thus described by Malmsbury: "Clothed in fine garments, and heedless of their days of abstinence, the monks laughed at their rule. The nobles, devoted to gluttony and voluptuousness, never visited the church; but the mattins and the mass were run over to them by a hurrying priest, in their bed-chambers, before they rose, themselves not listening. The common people were a prey to the more powerful; their property seized; their bodies dragged away to distant countries; their maid servants were either thrown into the brothel, or sold as slaves. Drinking day and night was the general pursuit; vices the companions of inebriety followed, effeminating the manly mind." l. 3. p. 101, 102. He says, that while they wasted their substance at their tables, their houses were poor and mean; unlike the Francs and Normans, who were economical in their family expenses, but loved spacious and magnificent edifices. Ib.

[9] Guitmund, the pupil of Lanfranc, says, that at this time "liberales artes intra Gallias pene obsoleverant." de Euch. Bib. Mag. Pat. t. 6. p. 215.

[10] Ord. Vit. 519. Lanfranc reached it in 1042. Chron. Bec. p. 2. He was wounded by robbers near the place he settled at.

insignificant of all the Norman monasteries[11]; its abbot was one of the rudest and most ignorant of their clergy[12]; and the fraternity were in the greatest state of wretchedness and penury[13]. But Providence often works its ends by those humble agencies, which most palpably display the operation to be its own. Lanfranc, the poor emigrant schoolmaster, became the acknowledged cause of the revival of the Latin literature, and the liberal arts, in France[14]. He could not have anticipated a destiny so distinguished; but no individual can foresee the quantity of good which his exertions may produce. We cannot now describe Lanfranc's attractive powers, but the fact is recorded, that after being there three years unknown, his tuition and assiduity excited, even in this miserable place, so great a love of study, and diffused it so widely around, that scholars flocked to him from all parts and of all ranks[15]. We can only explain the phenomenon by assuming, that it was the divine plan to make this the æra of a new birth of mind; that Lanfranc, from his preceptorial talents, was the instrument best adapted to begin the happy process; that Normandy, from the love of glory of its people, was the fittest spot; and that contingencies were made to occur, which gave effect to his agency. The scholars of Bec became so respected, that we find a pope indebted to Lanfranc for his instruction there, and having the magnanimity

[11] Quo nullum usquam pauperius æstimabatur vel abjectius cœnobium. W. Gemmet. Hist. l. 6. p. 262. He found the abbot building an oven himself. Lanfranc lived here three years omnibus ignotus. Ib.

[12] His name was Herluin. He did not learn to read till the age of 40. Gisleb. Vita Herl. p. 34.

[13] Aliquanto tempore in maxima egestate et penuria extitit. Chronicon Beccense, p. 1. It is printed at the end of Lanfranc's works, from an old MS. in the monastery.

[14] Guitmund ubi sup. Malm. 205. The ancient biographer of Lanfranc says, quem latinitas, in antiquum scientiæ statum ab eo restituta, tota agnoscit magistrum. p. 1. and see Ord. Vit. 519.

[15] W. Gemm. 262 Ord. Vit. says, "Under this master the Normans *first* explored the literary arts. Before him, under the six preceding dukes, scarcely any one of the Normans pursued the liberal studies; nor was there a teacher found, till God, the provider for all, sent Lanfranc to the Norman ground." p. 519.

magnamimity in the hour of his greatness, publicly to avow it[16]. The celebrity of Lanfranc spread at last to the Ducal court; and the Conqueror, able from his own vigorous mind to appreciate talents in others, was so interested by Lanfranc's fame, as to invite him to court, and to make him a confidential counsellor[17]. Soon after the invasion of England, William appointed Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. But dignity and wealth did not dispossess his mind of its literary taste: he exerted himself with unabated zeal, and with proportionate success, to establish in England a knowledge of the Latin language, and the study of its authors; he encouraged the formation of schools, and the progress of the scholars; and he even assisted those of slender means[18].

To have planted in a rude age and country a love of literature, is a benefaction, which entitles the individual who has accomplished it to gratitude and celebrity. But when from Lanfranc's deserved reputation for this success, we turn to his works, we see in them no striking correspondence between his attainments and his utility. His compositions exhibit no uncommon intellect and great poverty of knowledge, though united with good intention and sincere piety[19]. But he spread, by his exhortations and example, a desire to attain what was then attainable in letters; and to raise the ignorant Norman and English mind to the level of

[16] When Lanfranc went to Rome to receive the pall, he was surprised to see the Pope rising respectfully to him as he entered, on his public audience, with this remark, "I do not rise to the archbishop of Canterbury, but to my old master at Bec, in whose school I was instructed." Vita. Lanfr. p. 11. This pope, whose gratitude and sensibility so honourably suspended the claims of his rank, was Alexander.

[17] Guil. Pictav. 194. There is reason to believe that the famous Gregory VII. studied under Lanfranc. Murat. Ant. Ital. 897.

[18] Malmsb. 214.

[19] They consist of, his treatise in Defence of Transubstantiation, against Berengarius; a neat arrangement of common arguments for a mysterious Opinion; and Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, which are plain in their style, and not important in their matter. His Rule of St. Benedict, compiled for his monasteries, is clear and precise. His letters are those of a man of business and decision. Lanfranci Opera, Paris 1648.

of the Roman, was to begin its intellectual evolution, and to prepare it for the more powerful and efficient agencies that were advancing to affect it.

Anselm succeeds him.

Lanfranc was succeeded in his school at Bec, and afterwards in his archiepiscopal see, by Anselm, a man far superior to himself in cultivated talent and in literary composition. He has even had the honour of being thought to have furnished Des Cartes with one of the most celebrated reasonings of his metaphysical ingenuity[20]; but he was improved from sources to which Lanfranc had either not resorted, or only began to know.

Anglo-Normans become eager for study.

The most informed ecclesiastics on the Continent were invited from all parts into England, and were placed in its great ecclesiastical dignities, to the rapid improvement of the country[21]. Every where the spirit of learning and better manners, and a taste for noble architecture, was introduced. The fine arts are naturally connected with mental advancement; the pleasures of the eye and ear have been justly remarked to be intellectual gratifications; and therefore painting, sculpture, architecture, and music, will always be the delights of cultivated understanding[22]. The Anglo-Saxons felt the powerful influence of the two great principles that were

[20] Leibnitz thought that Descartes derived the idea of his well known reasoning, "I think; therefore I exist"—from some expression of Anselm, in his Monologion.

[21] The Canon of Bayeux, made archbishop of York, is highly extolled for his literature. Malms. 273.—John of Tours established at Bath a congregation of monks, distinguished for knowledge. Ib. 254.—A Norman bishop filled the church at Dorset with canons of the same literary taste. Ib. 290.—The monk of St. Bertin, who accompanied the bishop of Salisbury to England, contributed largely to the diffusion of knowledge in his diocese. Ib. p. 130.—Another Norman bishop is mentioned, who was fond of astronomy. Ib. p. 286.—The archbishop who succeeded Anselm, was also much attached to learning. Ib. p. 230.—So the Norman bishop of Rochester increased the condition of this cathedral magnifice, p. 233.

[22] Thus Malmsbury declares, that the Normans loved great buildings; and that after the Norman conquest, churches arose in the villages, and monasteries in the cities, *in a new style of building*. The kingdom, by the new customs, began so to flourish, that every opulent man thought the day had been lost, which some act of splendid magnificence had not distinguished. l. 3. p. 102.

were actuating the Norman character—the love of exterior pomp, in preference to animal pleasures, and the desire of reputation. Hence the wealth which the Anglo-Saxons were consuming in the debasing luxuries of the appetite, the Anglo-Normans applied to the erection of great public edifices; the support of schools; the acquisition of books; and to the display of that stately magnificence, which, though productive of pride and ambition, yet was more favourable to human improvement than corrupting sensuality. Their love of fame counteracted the ill effects of their love of pomp, by darting soon at intellectual objects; and their moral virtues[23] concurred with their spirit of emulation and ardent piety, to create by degrees a high principle of personal honour, and a general increase of social probity and individual worth, which gave stability and force to the national progression.

A striking instance of this.

One impressive description has survived to us, of the great intellectual activity and usefulness of the Norman clergy, to plant in England the literature they had just imbibed.

On Ingulf's death, Joffred was invited from Normandy, and appointed abbot of Croyland. When he settled in the monastery, he sent to its farm near Cambridge four Norman monks, who were well instructed in what was then called philosophy and science. With all the zeal, and in the manner of our modern itinerant preachers, they hired a public barn at Cambridge, and went thither daily and taught what they knew. In a short time, a great concourse of pupils gathered round them. In the second year of their exertions, the accumulation of scholars from all the country

[23] We have already noticed the virtues of the Norman character: Malmsbury adds these traits—"They are emulous of their equals, and strive to surpass their superiors. They are faithful to their masters, but abandon them on the least offence. They punish perfidy with death, but commute the sentence for money. The most kind-hearted of all men, they treat strangers with the same respect as themselves. They marry with their inferiors. Since their coming into England, they have raised religion as it were from the dead." l. 3. p. 102.

country round, as well as from the town, was so great, that the largest house, barn, or even church, was insufficient to contain them. To gratify the extensive demand for their instruction, they separated their labours. In the first part of the morning, one of the friars, who was distinguished as a grammarian, taught the Latin grammar to the younger part of the community; at a later hour, another, who was esteemed an acute sophist, instructed the more advanced in the logic of Aristotle, according to the comments of Porphyry and Averroes; a third friar lectured on rhetoric, from Cicero and Quintilian; the fourth, on Sundays and feast-days preached to the people in various churches: and in this duty Joffred himself frequently cooperated[24].

In this unadorned account, we have a striking proof of the attachment of mankind to intellectual improvement, and their eagerness to embrace every opportunity of acquiring it. The soil is ever ready; the labourers only are wanting, where it continues unproductive.

In the second year of their tuition, we find these five friars, under all the disadvantages of a foreign language, of great national prejudice against them, and of addressing an uncultivated nation[25], yet succeeding so prosperously in spreading literature around them, that not even the public buildings were large enough to contain the scholars who besought their instruction. If foreign countries under our own government pine still in darkness and base superstitions, it is not from their want of any susceptibility of improvement; it must be our prejudices, and not theirs, which continue their inferiority. No obstacle can be deemed insurmountable

[24] Hist. Croyland, 1 Gale Script. p. 114.

[25] Such was the state of England in the eyes of Lanfranc, at this time, that among the reasons which he gives to the Pope for declining at first the mitre of Canterbury, were, not only our speaking an unknown language, but our being a *barbarous* nation. Op. Lanfr. Ep. 1. p. 299.—So Guitmund, as before quoted in p. 88. Barbarous in the estimation of a Lombard and a Norman! But even civilization in its degeneracy deserves the epithet.

mountable by the philanthropical philosopher, who recollects the nations that have been meliorated, and the gratitude with which they have hailed their own improvement and its authors.

One of the first fruits of this revival of literature in England, was the universal establishment of schools. To every cathedral, and almost to every monastery, a school was appended. It is a pleasing feature of the human character, that we are desirous of imparting to others the knowledge we acquire. Few persons of any note appear to us among the clergy, during the century after the conquest, who did not during some part of his life occupy himself in instructing others. Such efforts must have been the produce of genuine benevolence, because, of all intellectual toil, the instruction of youth exacts the greatest labour, and returns the least immediate gratification. Even the popes were active in exciting the cultivation of knowledge: and the commanding efficacy of their persevering recommendations on this momentous subject, affords no small atonement for the misdirection of their influence in their political struggles[26]. Councils held under their legates, even in the thirteenth century, continued to patronize schools[27]. It is true that they were ecclesiastical schools, and that extrinsic

Schools every where established.

[26] Gregory VII. in 1038, ordered that all the bishops should cause the artes literarum to be taught in their churches Murat. Ant. Ital. 874. And in 1179, in the general council in the Lateran church at Rome, it was declared, "That the church, like a pious mother, ought to provide for the needy, as well those things which are necessary for the body, as those which tend to the progress of the mind: And lest the opportunity of reading and improvement should be withheld from the poor, who had no paternal wealth to assist them, it directs, that in every cathedral a competent maintenance should be allowed to a master, who should teach the ecclesiastics of that church, and also poor scholars gratis; and that no money should by any means be exacted for licenses to teach." Ann. Hoveden, p. 589.

[27] Thus the council of Paris held in 1212, under a cardinal legate, prohibited the exaction of any thing for license to teach schooling. It blamed monks who swore not to lend out any books, and ordered the bishops to have reading at their tables at the beginning and end of meals. Dupin, Eccl. Hist. 13th cent. c. 6.

extrinsic study was watched with some suspicion[28]; but all assisted to increase the national education.

Pilgrimages through Greece

The habit of pilgrimage, and afterwards of the crusades, increased the taste for study. It was impossible for so many, from all ranks and nations in Europe, to visit the Grecian and Arab states, without some conviction of the benefit of superior knowledge, and a general desire to acquire and impart the improvement which they beheld. From the account left by Luithprand, of the wonders he saw at Constantinople—of the metallic tree, on whose brazen branches gilt birds were made to sing—of the throne supported by gilded lions, who roared at his approach—of the other shows and tricks which he witnessed, and of the horse-laugh with which his astonishment was received by the conceited courtiers[29]—it would seem that the saucy Greeks amused themselves with making the western barbarians stare. These specimens of their mechanical skill may have first interested a rude stranger's notice; but their tasteful architecture, their elegant sculptures, their fine manuscripts, their celebrated loquacity, and the fame of the poets and philosophers who once adorned their name, must have powerfully impressed the attention of many; and have created that feeling of deficiency and that desire of emulation which are the certain parents of improvement. A nation that has been highly civilized, will display even in its degeneracy some features of its nobler state, which will make the uncultivated mind sensible of its inferiority, and aspire to remove it. Greece has thus acted upon every nation, but one, with which it has been connected; it has kindled mental emulation among all peoples who have become acquainted with the monuments of its arts and literature, except among the Turks; they only have the glory or the disgrace of having

[28] The 20th article of this council forbad those admitted into a monastery to go out to study, and ordered the absent to return within two months. Dupin, 13 cent.

[29] Luithprand. l. 6. c. 2 & 3.

having for ages deafened themselves to its syren songs—they only have remained sternly impenetrable to those attractions which have been found every where else so seductive and so beneficial[30].

A visible progress appeared in England after these pilgrimages had become common, increasing, as the crusades increased the intercourse with Constantinople and the East. So great indeed became the enthusiasm for learning, among the Anglo-Normans, that besides the cathedral and conventual schools, others arose in many parts of the country[31]; and as soon as the improvement of the scholars had exhausted the knowledge of their instructors, they became emulous of travelling to other countries, wherever teachers of celebrity were established, or new subjects of study appeared[32].

increase the ardour for study.

The first students were the clergy; but the passion for literature spread soon beyond them. The wisdom of the Conqueror procured for his son Henry, the best education of the day. This prince deserved his surname of Fine-scholar, for he became so fond of letters, that neither wars nor the cares of state could shake them from his mind[33]. His first queen, Mathilda, cultivated them[34]; and the books addressed

Its high patronage.

[30] Goddess of Wisdom! here thy temple was,
And is, despite of war and wasting fire;—
But worse than steel, and flame, and ages slow,
Is the dread sceptre and dominion dire
Of men, who never felt the sacred glow
That thoughts of thee and thine on polish'd breasts bestow.

Childe Harold, cant. 2.

[31] Stephanides mentions three principal schools of celebrity in London, in Becket's youth. p. 4. And that many were elsewhere we may infer, from the order of the Synod of Westminster, in 1138, That if the masters of schools permitted others to hold such seminaries, they should not exact any profit from them. Chron. Gervas. p. 1348. ed. Twysd.—Ingulf says he studied at Westminster and Oxford. p. 73.

[32] Becket went to Bologne to study the civil law. Steph. p. 12. Many Englishmen went to Paris, when the teachers there became eminent. Leland, in his de Script. Brit. v. 1. gives several instances. We have the verses of one scholar of this time, still extant, recommending his friend to visit Paris.

[33] Malmsb. 155.

[34] Ib. 164.

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addressed to the "bel Alice," his second, attest her attainments[35]. His natural son, the count of Gloucester, so distinguished for his struggles in behalf of his sister, against Stephen, was ardent both as a student and a patron. His friend Malmsbury says, that he made his studies a part of his glory; that he befriended and conversed with men of letters, even though poor and obscure[36]; that he so earnestly cultivated his intellectual taste, that even when surrounded with the most disquieting occupations, he always seized some hours in which he read to himself, or heard others read[37]. Patronage became fashionable. Osmund, the bishop of Sherborn, not only collected a large library, but he received with great liberality every ecclesiastic that was distinguished for learning, and persuaded them to reside with him[38].

MSS. multiplied by copies.

Many persons contributed to the general progress, by assiduously forming libraries[39]; and the spirit arose in the monasteries, of educating the younger monks to the habit of neat and correct writing, that the copies of authors works might be multiplied. Without this happy practice, the progress of literature must have been confined to a few individuals, because the cost of books was enormous; and their use in the great libraries was much restricted, on account of their value. Even the prelates were not weary of transcribing[40]. As the transcripts multiplied, the permission to inspect them was more liberally conceded, and their diffusion extended[41]. We have an instance of an individual's patriotic exertion

[35] See Philippe du Than, mentioned hereafter.

[36] Malmsb. p. 6. [37] Ib. 174. [38] Ib. 250.

[39] Thus the two abbots mentioned by Matt. Paris, Hist. Abb. Alb. p. 64.—Croyland library, at the time of its fire in 1091, had 300 volumina originalia, and above 400 minora volumina. Ing. p. 98.

[40] Thus the bishop of Sherborn, nec scribere nec scriptos legare fastideret. Malm. p. 250.—Hugo Candidus has left us a very respectable list of the books which Benedict, the Abbot of Peterboro', had written, who was chosen 1177. Hist. p. 99.

[41] Ingulf gives us a specimen of their rules on this point: "We forbad, under the penalty of excommunication, the lending of our books,

exertion in this respect, in Simon of St. Albans, who from his own taste maintained liberally two or three select writers in his chamber, where he prepared, says the authority, an invaluable plenty of the best books. He made it a rule in his monastery, that every future abbot should always keep a good writer[42]. The scriptorial taste of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is manifested by the general beauty of the writing of their manuscripts which have survived to us.

Ignorance became discreditable.

The seeds of knowledge thus liberally sown after the middle of the eleventh century, sprang up to a fertile harvest in the next, and especially after vernacular compositions appeared. The great not only patronised the students, but excited them to exert their talents in composition. Thus the count of Gloucester desired Malmsbury to write his History[43]; and the bishop of Lincoln induced Henry of Huntingdon to compile his Annals[44]. Literary pursuits becoming a source of distinction and preferment, all ranks caught the flame. And when the vernacular literature, which we are about to notice, became diffused, knowledge no longer pined in solitary gloom within the cells of a cloister or the walls of a school; it was invited to adorn the hall of the baron, the chamber of the lady, and the court of the prince. The sturdy knight began to find his iron mail and trophied lance an insufficient distinction; to win the smile he valued, and to maintain the reputation he had acquired, he found it necessary to emulate some of the studies of the churchman. Even the ladies of the great not only learnt to read

books, as well the smaller without pictures, as the larger with pictures, to distant schools, without the abbot's leave, and his certain knowledge within what time they would be restored. As to the smaller books, as Psalteries, Donatus, Cato, et similibus poeticis ac quaternis de cantu, adapted to the boys, and the relations of the monks, &c. we forbad them to be lent for above one day, without leave of the prior. pp. 104, 105.

[42] Matt. Paris, Abb. Alb. p. 93.

[43] Malm. p. 174.

[44] Hen. Hunt. p. 296.

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read and judge, but some females also to write[45]. After the twelfth century, ignorance became discreditable, the mark of a barbarous country, a vulgar origin, or a degraded taste. Pope Adrian, an Englishman, and the only Englishman that has reached the papal chair, found the deficiencies of his mind a bar to his preferment, for he was rejected at St. Albans, for want of sufficient learning. His becoming pride felt the shame of the rebuke; he went to Paris, and laboured indefatigably till he excelled his fellow students[46].

First produce of the Anglo-Norman literature.

But what was the first produce of this studious enthusiasm? The knowledge of the Latin language became general in the monasteries; the Latin classics were familiarized to the Anglo-Norman mind; Latin versifiers abounded; and the knowledge of ancient Rome was transplanted into Britain.

Latin language attained.

To have attained these instruments of improvement, was to have made an important advance. The Latin language is now as much of ornament as utility; but it was then the only key to intellectual instruction. The vernacular languages of Europe at that time contained, besides some necessary but rude legislation, and a few wild tales or wilder traditions, little else than their native poetry; an artificial chain of sounds, with imperfect melody, penurious meaning, barbarous feelings, and rarely with any perceptible utility. All that it was meliorating or valuable to know, was in Latin or Greek; and as, by a happy prejudice, permitted to continue by Providence for its usefulness, the religious services of the church were kept in the Latin language, the clergy of every Christian country were compelled to acquire it, for it was found that if they did not, they ridiculously mispronounced it[47]. Thus made general from

[45] Heloisa, in her Letters to Abelard, displays great cultivation of mind. Marie, in her lays, equals any of her contemporaries, in the easy flow of her versification, and the spirit of some of her descriptions.

[46] Matt. Paris, Alb. Abb. p. 66.

[47] As in the well-known *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*. Even a pope could be so ignorant of Latin, as to write—"eorumque novilissimis suivoles—una cum indiculum—una cum omnes benebentani." This occurs in a letter of Adrian I. Murat Ant. Ital. p. 811.

from technical necessity, it was found convenient as an universal language, in which the students and writers of every part of Europe could communicate with each other; it became the language of their correspondence as well as of their compositions; and from the unceasing importance of the acquisition, grammar, or the art of understanding and writing Latin correctly, was the earliest and the most common study of all the schools we have alluded to. Priscian and Donatus were the masters resorted to; and from this custom, the merry priest Walter Mapes derives the image by which he personifies grammar, in his satire on misused learning: "Here is Priscian giving stripes to the hands[48]." The castigation, however general, was not always availing; for even Priscian, with all the activity of his ferula, could not make some minds recollect either the cases or the conjugations[49]. But a very high degree not only of precision, but even of elegance, was attained by a few. The fabulous History of Jeffry displayed a command of Latin style, which, aided by its subject, gave it a rapid circulation over Europe. The miscellaneous Essays of John of Salisbury deserve and have received, even from distant nations, a lavish commendation[50]. William of Malmsbury, with his eye fixed on the Roman historians, has left us a work which, though no rival of

[48] This poem is called the Apocalypsis Golvæ Episcopi. It is a MS. in the British Museum, Harl. Lib. No. 978. He fancies that, as he is lying in a grove, he sees the form of Pythagoras standing before him, but bearing all the sciences about him, in this strange guise—

In fronte micuit ars Astrologica;
Dentium seriem regit Grammatica;
In lingua pulchrius vernat Rhetorica;
Concussis æstuat in labiis Logica;
In Arithmetica digitis socia;
In cava Musica ludit articula;
Pallens in oculis stat Geometrica;—
In tergo scriptæ sunt Artes Mechanicæ.

[49] Giraldus Cambrensis furnishes us with an instance of this sort, in the old hermit his friend, who would say Noli, for nolo; Vana, for vanum; and the infinitive active, for the infinitive passive. Giraldus de se gestis. Anglia Sacra, v. 2. p. 497.

[50] His chief works are the De nugis Curialium, and the Metalogicon. Stephanius often quotes him, in his notes on Saxo, and with these eulogiums:—aureus scriptor—eleganter ut omnia—auctor cum veterum quopiam comparandus. p. 151 and p. 2.

of his avowed models, nor equal in style to that of Saxo-Grammaticus, almost his contemporary, yet is superior in composition to the annalists of his age, and to any preceding historian since the classical authors[51]. Anselm has also a lucid neatness of diction, which even now may be read with pleasure and advantage[52].

Latin versifiers.

The reputation of good poetry is so great, that adventurers for the Parnassian laurel are never wanting. To write Latin verses became a favourite employment with the monks. Almost every author was ambitious to excel in this harmless toil. It would be as absurd to dignify their compositions, as our college exercises, with the name of poetry; they were merely specimens of their attainments of the Latin grammar and Latin prosody. But the practice ensured the preservation and the study of the great classical authors, and was perpetually operating to create a good poetical taste. Joseph of Exeter indeed surprises us by a versification, in his poem on the Trojan War, which reads almost classical[53]; and Jeffry of Monmouth attained a smoothness and fluency in his poetical diction, which Milton has condescended to notice[54]. The jocose

[51] His de Gestis Regum Anglorum extends from Hengist to Henry I. in five books. His Historiæ Novellæ, in two more, pursues our history to the escape of the empress Matilda from Oxford. He wrote five more on the prelates of England.

[52] His Monologium, or Metaphysical Contemplations on the Essence of the Deity, written at the request of his friends, who admired his speculations; and his Prosologion, a chain of reasoning composed on the solicitations of others, who wished that some one argument might be found to prove the divine existence; are interesting treatises, which do credit to his Latin diction.

[53] It contains, in six books, 3636 good hexameters, but not always good taste, as witness—

Nox fera, nox vere, nox noxia, turbida, tristis,
Insidiosa, ferox, tragicis ululanda cothurnis,
Aut satyra rodenda gravi.—l. 6. v. 760.

It is printed at the end of the Dictys Cretensis, and Dares Phrygius, in the edition of Amsterdam 1702. He also wrote a poem on the crusades, called the Antiocheis, of which only a few lines on Arthur have been preserved.

[54] Milton, in his History of England, says of the verses which Jeffry inserted in his History, "They are much better than for his age, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, the

jocose poetry of Walter Mapes is also free and voluble, and sometimes happy, though he attempts to bend the majesty of the Roman diction to the rhimes and cadence of our popular poetry. His chief merits were, good sense, good humour, and some useful satire. These vital qualities tempt us to forget his bacchanalian jovialities[55].

Other authors among us displayed no inconsiderable power of arranging their dactyles and spondees into plausible imitations of the classical metres. To notice all, when the crowd was so great, would be absurd; it will be sufficient to mention two, from the importance of their subjects. One was Geoffry Vinesauf, the friend, companion, and encomiast of our Richard I who attempted to teach his contemporaries the art of poetry, or criticism in Latin verse[56]. He treats on invention and memory, on the ornaments of the style, and the disposition of the thoughts; he explains the tropes and figures of poetry, and dilates

the only smooth poet of the times, befriended him." Milton seems not to have known Jeffry's poem on the life of Merlin, which is in MS. in the British Museum, Cotton. Lib. Vespasian E 4. The passages quoted from this MS. in the vindication of the ancient British poets, pp. 120, 121, will be found smooth and fluent. Mr. Ellis has given a copious account of its contents, in his Specimen of antient Romances.

[55] Camden has printed, in his Remains, Mapes' verses on Wine, and on the Lives of the Clergy. In the British Museum, both in the Harleian and King's Library, are many of his MS. poems. His mirth is not always pure, but his satire is usually good humoured, and the free spirit of his muse announces the improving spirit of his country.—His critique on the ancient authors is worth preserving:

Hic Priscianus est dans palmis verbera
Est Aristoteles verberans aëra.
Verborum Tullius demulcet aspera.
Fert Ptolomeus se totum in sidera.
Tractat Boetius innumerabilia.
Metitur Euclides locorum spatia.
Frequens Pythagoras pulsat fabrilia.
Traxit a malleis vocum primordia.
Lucanum video ducem bellantium.
Formantem aëreas muscas Virgilium.
Pascentem fabulis turbas Ovidium.
Nudantem satiros dicaces Perseum.
Incomparabilis est Statius statio.
Cujus detinuit res comparatio.
Saltat Terentius plebeius ystro.

Harl. MS. 978.

[56] It is entitled, De Arte Dictandi, or De Nova Poetica. It is in the British Museum, Cott. MS. Cleop. B 6. pp. 1—30. where it is followed by another Work on prose, intermixed with verse, on the same subject.—His History of Richard's expedition to Palestine has been already noticed.

dilates on the description, the prosopopeia and the apostrophe. He is even bold enough to attempt by his own example to strengthen all his laws; though his lamentation on his king, and its apostrophe on Friday, the day on which Richard fell, may induce us to prefer his criticism to his poetry[56].

The Anti-Claudianus of Alanus de insulis[57], who is perhaps better known as the commentator on our Merlin, than as a poet, treats on the seven arts and sciences, and morals, with great fluency of versification, and some good precepts. But if these and innumerable others, who tried the Cynthian lyre, have not increased our catalogue of good Latin poetry, they certainly improved and stimulated the intellect of their contemporaries, and circulated an attachment to the ancient classics, by which the general taste was benefited when other studies came into fashion.

It would exceed both the limit and object of this Work, to detail in regular catalogue, the ecclesiastical writers who filled the middle ages with Latin verse or prose[58]. That respectable mediocrity of mind,

[56] O Veneris lacrimosa dies! O sidus amarum!
Illa dies tua nox fuit, et Venus illa Venenum,
Illa dedit vulnus! Bromton Chron. 1280.

[57] It is in the Cott. MS. above mentioned, Cleop. B 6.—It is not clear whether this Alan was an Englishman or not. An account of his life and writings may be read in Tanner's very useful Bibliotheca Monastica, p. 16.

[58] They who wish to see Latin hexameters in rhime, may read Anselm's verses on his predecessor Lanfranc, which are rhimed in couplets. Lanf. Op. p. 17.—Those of Peter, a friend of Malmsbury, are hexameters sometimes rhiming in couplets, and sometimes in the middle of the line, where the author was unable to produce the terminal consonance. Malmsb. p. 255.—The verses on Richard I. of eight quatrains of Latin rhime (Hoved. 667.) and those of Magister Berterus on the crusades, a series of short rhiming lines (ib. 639.) resemble some of the forms of the vernacular poetry.—The greater number of the versifiers were, however, satisfied with their hexameters and pentameters. I observe that very few endeavoured to imitate Horace.—The British Museum contains, in hexameters and pentameters, The Monita Moralia of Nigellus Wireker, addressed to the Chancellor of Richard I. MS. Cott. Julius A 7.—Also a poem of 2720 flowing lines, on the Life of St. Albans, with much Scripture history intermixed, written by Robert of Dunstaple, about 1150. MS. Cott. Julius D 3.—A short poem follows in the same MS. curious for

mind, which the Latin literature is well adapted to produce, was the attainment of the best. From this moderate level others descended, in varying degrees, to the humblest dulness. In reading a few, you exhaust the scanty ideas of all, and you desire to read no more. But this was not the fault of their talent, but of their instruction; their minds were new soil, fit for the most vigorous vegetation; but the Latin literature that was transplanted into them, was composed of the flowering, not the fruitful plants. Our ancestors produced as much from it as the later Romans had done: its unprolific nature forbad a better harvest.

Estimation of their intellectual utility.

In characterising our writers of the middle age as dull and unimproving now, I do not wish to be understood to depreciate their contemporary utility; In the commencement of mental culture, such literature must occur, and it does not occur unprofitably. The literary improvements of every country slowly and gradually accumulate; myriads of minds must labour, and a great proportion must give diction and publicity to the fruits of their secret toil, before a large population can be visibly benefited. To suit the various circumstances and tempers of mankind, numerous must be the paths of the studious, and very diversified their produce. No labourer in this great field is useless or unimportant; the meanest effort will find some individual, whose humble capacity

for its imitation of our ballad metre and double rhime, as

Quasi corvus crocito
Duin canunt olores
Voce rudi recito
Communes dolores.

After a page and a half of this, Leonine verses appear.—One of the longest Latin poems in rhime that I have seen, is the Speculum humanæ Salvationis, in the British Museum, Harl. MS. No. 26, and Cott. Lib. Vespas. E 1. It is said in the latter, the best and more ancient copy of the two, to be liber fratris Amandi. It contains about 5000 lines, some of them metrical in their cadence, and rhimed into couplets. Two will suffice as specimens—

In hoc speculo potuit homo considerare
Quam ob causam Creator omnium decrevit hominem creare—
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Lucifer erexit se contra Deum creatorem suum eternum
Et in ictu oculi de excelso celorum projectus est in infernum.

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city is assisted by the tribute; and till inferior cultivators have brought the soil into a state fit for a nobler harvest, the sublimer intellects cannot appear, or would operate, if they did, with inconsiderable effect. Hence, although our early history presents to us a crowd of Latin students, whose writings we have long consigned to oblivion, and whose names we disturb only to deride; yet they have all been, in various degrees, benefactors to society: they were the laborious teachers of absolute ignorance, which their tuition removed; and it is the success of their labours in improving their countrymen, which has made their services forgotten.

Valuable chronicles of the Anglo-Norman monks.

The most valuable part of the Anglo-Norman Latin literature was the annals, chronicles and histories, composed by the monks; works indeed so invariably associated with our habitual contempt, that it may be thought absurd to praise them here. To the graces of style they have certainly no pretensions; if they had, they might, like Saxo-Grammaticus, have been historically worthless. With the charms of order, the powers of forcible description, the use of profound reflection, or the art of intellectual criticism, they were entirely unacquainted. The superstitious legend they delighted to detail, for they sincerely believed it; they never omitted a rumored prodigy, and were ever ready to exaggerate an extraordinary natural phenomenon. With these defects, what then was their value? The simple habit of plainly annalizing the main facts of history that occurred. Such a series of regular chronology and true incident; such faithful, clear and ample materials for authentic history, had scarcely appeared before: nothing could be more contemptible as compositions; nothing could be more satisfactory as authorities. Their simplicity was advantageous to their veracity; and when the monastic habit of composing them ceased, their place was but poorly supplied by the loquacious lay-chroniclers, half romances, at least in their dress, which succeeded. It is easy

easy to separate their legends from their facts; and perhaps the modern use of certain and correct chronology may be ascribed to their precise habit, of always dating the years of the events which they record[59].

But the Latin literature which was cultivated after Lanfranc, was rather useful in beginning a literary taste in England, and in forming those men who deviated afterwards into other studies, than for its own intrinsic and productive affluence. However valuable the best Latin classics will be to all ages, for their taste, their chastised beauties of style, their eloquence, and their occasional good sense, they do not impart, because they do not contain, any large funds of knowledge, great originality of thought, or important associations of ideas: they are but the best Grecian classics re-appearing, with augmented judgment and some variety of features, in a new language. Science, the Romans never valued, nor much understood. Mathematical studies, the proudest part of Grecian knowledge, were never popular in Greece itself, and scarcely visited Italy[60]. All the natural history and philosophy which

Limited utility of the Roman classics.

[59] Of these, some of the principal are—

Ingulf, who ends	A.D. 1091	William of Malmsbury	1143
Petrus Blessensis, continued it to	1118	Alured of Beverly	1129
Florence of Worcester	1117	Bromton, about	1200
continued to	1141	Chron. Petri-burgi	1259
Henry of Huntingdon	1154	Continued, by Rob. Boston, to	1368
Simeon of Durham	1130	William of Newborough	1197
Hoveden	1202	Ralph de diceto, about	1200
Eadmer	1122	Benedict Abbas	1192
Matthew Paris	1259	Thomas Wikes	1304
Rishanger's Continuation to	1273	Annals of Waverly	1291
Gervas	1200	Matthew of Westminster	1307

As in every monastery there was some curious mind, fond of noting the great incidents of his day, every country in Europe has such chronicles. But I think with Dr. Henry, that, upon the whole, our annalists are superior to those of any other nation, at this period.

[60] Theodoric, in his letter to Boetius, commends him, because, by *his* translations, the Italians could read Pythagoras on Music, Ptolemy on Astronomy, Euclid on Geometry, Nichomachus on Arithmetic, and Archimedes on Mechanics. He adds, "Whatever dis-

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which could be collected within the precincts of the Roman empire, in its largest circle, and from the labours of anterior time, Pliny embodied in his work. His countrymen never increased his store, and scanty is its amount[61]! The Latin poets that convey useful instruction to posterity, are not more numerous than their dramatists. Their historians, together with Cicero, Seneca, Quintilian, and Epictetus, exhibit the intellects most serviceable to future ages; but even these, like the Latin fathers, with their superior topics, are not affluent in extensive knowledge, and are insufficient to create a vigorous original mind. It is one thing to please a cultivated taste, it is another thing to instruct. The scholar will feast on the Virgilian graces; but they alone would leave the young student almost as barren and as ignorant as they found him: his mental growth demands more substantial, though coarser nutriment; and if he be confined to the diet of the Roman classics, he will not be more informed nor more productive than the authors we are considering.

And of their ancient imitators.

Hence, when the Anglo-Saxons, Normans, Franks, and other Gothic nations, had transplanted into their own, all the Roman mind which its writers had perpetuated; though their scholars, thus far accomplished, learned to write Latin, often with elegance and correct prosody, and acquired from it a cultivation which made them like moons in a benighted age, yet their borrowed light spread but feebly around them, and was not transmissible to future times. Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Erigena, Lanfranc, Anselm,

disciplinæ or arts, fruitful Greece has produced, by you, uno auctore, Rome has received into her vernacular language." Yet Boetius did not live till the sixth century.

[61] It is a remarkable fact, which we learn from Quintilian, that Epicurus directed his disciples to avoid the study of the sciences. l. 12. This injunction was fatal to their intellectual progress, as indeed all his leading doctrines were. Hence, though he was temperate, his followers, pursuing his principles to their natural consequences, became mere sensualists. Lactantius says, that his sect became far more popular than others. Div. Inst. l. 3. c. 17. Yet during his lifetime he was unknown, and almost unattended. Seneca, ep. 79.

Anselm, Iscanus, Geoffry, Becket, John of Salisbury, and many others of a similar class, although displaying the utmost improvement of mind, which an education formed on the Roman literature could impart, and not inferior in native talent to any Roman writer of the later periods of the empire; yet are so inferior to our ideas of excellence, and so deficient in our accumulated knowledge, that their best compositions we think of with disdain, and never deign to unfold.

The trivium and quadrivium.

The trivium and quadrivium—the terms within which the sciences of the middle age were comprised—awake our contempt the moment they occur, because they recal the image of barbarian ages, and seem to be the drivelling pedantry of barbarian ignorance. But let our ancestors have their proper merit: although to us they are pigmies, they were not so to their predecessors. The studies implied by these two monastic vocables, and in the two jargon hexameters that define the subjects they comprised[62], conveyed all that the Romans knew, cultivated or taught. The books from which they were learnt, were the best treatises which the Roman empire possessed upon them. Confined indeed was the knowledge they conveyed; and our emulous forefathers were but feeble thinkers, when they had mastered them all; but in possessing themselves of these, they acquired the knowledge which their Roman teachers had enjoyed. When they had finished the circuit of the trivium and quadrivium, they had transferred all the intellect of the Roman empire into their own; and if knowledge be the criterion of their merit, the good scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not inferior to those of Rome after the age of Tacitus and Quintilian. In taste and elegance, and polished genius, it would be absurd to compare them with

[62] Gramm. loquitur; Dia. vera docet; Rhet. verba colorat:
Mus. canit; Ar. numerat; Geo. ponderat; Ast. colit astra.

with the ornaments of the Augustan age; but these authors were in the third century beyond the approach of their own countrymen; and it is therefore no disgrace to the middle ages, that their inferiority was not dissimilar.

Improved intellect not formed by study only.

The truth seems to be, that the classical minds whom we are accustomed to venerate, were not formed merely from the literature that preceded them, but from the general intellect, business, conversation, and pursuits of their day. It is a mistake to imagine that a man of great intellectual eminence is made only from his library; he is the creature of the improvement of society about him, reflecting upon him the rays of a thousand minds, and pouring into him information from a thousand quarters; every hour his understanding, if it has the capacity, is insensibly directed, enriched and exercised, by the knowledge and talent that is every where breathing, acting and conferring around him; his mind expands, without his own consciousness of its enlargement; his ideas multiply independently of his will; his judgment rectifies, his moral or political wisdom increases, with his experience; and he becomes at last a model imperceptibly benefiting others, as he has been benefited himself.

Literature declines when society degenerates.

Thus Cicero, Tacitus, and Thucydides, were formed, as well as Scipio, Epaminondas, and Cæsar. But as soon as moral and political degeneracy had withered the Roman mind, and voluptuousness had corrupted it, the intellectual tone and affluence of their improved society ceased. Instead of that abundance of cultivated and active talent, which, from the Letters of Tully, we see that Roman cities once possessed, a debased, sordid, sensual, illiterate mind, appeared, valuing nothing but a babbling rhetoric, that might from an age of imbecility procure food for its vanity, or minister to its selfishness. Such a state of intellect and literature, our Gothic ancestors found in the Roman provinces, which they

they subdued; and though they at last collected into their libraries the works of the nobler minds of this deteriorated race, yet the books without the living education benefited little; and unless new revolutions had disclosed new sources of improvement, and created a new spirit of activity, cultivation, discussion and thought, the human mind would still have remained as dwarfed and barren, as monotonous and feeble, as it was in all the writers of the middle ages, who drank only at the fountains of the Latin Muses[63].

But the Roman literature, whatever be the amount of its intrinsic merits, was manifestly insufficient for the progress of the human intellect, from two other circumstances—its limited diffusion, and its tendency to prevent originality of thought.

Latin literature not fitted for popular instruction.

As the Latin language was not the common language of society in England, its instructive operation was confined to the monastic and clerical body. It gave no improvement to the nobleman, the knight, the yeoman, the merchant, the vassal, or the burgher, who could not understand it[64]; their ignorance remained undiminished. Amid all the seminaries of study, they could know no more than their spiritual guides chose to impart; and how scanty the dole of knowledge from the papal hierarchy to the populace, has always been, not only the middle ages, but our own times attest. If, then, the Latin literature had continued the only study in England, the ecclesiastical bodies would have been so many Christian

[63] That England is not indebted to the Latin writers for its mathematical knowledge, we may see from John of Salisbury. He says, that in his time, the twelfth century, "Geometry is very little attended to amongst us, and is only studied by some people in Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, for the sake of astronomy." Metalog. l. 4. c. 6.

[64] That the nobility were unacquainted with Latin in the time of Hen. II. we find from the speech of the Earl of Arundel to the Pope. He was one of the commissioners sent by Henry, with some other great barons, and several prelates, to the pontiff. His mission would imply that the most informed nobles had been selected. The bishops made their address in Latin. The Earl then began in English, "My Lord! what the bishops have spoken to you, we illiterate laymen do not at all understand: We will therefore tell you for ourselves, why we are sent."—Vita Becket, l. 2. c. 9. p. 74.

Christian druids; so many British bramins; the only informed portion of an ignorant community; whom they would learn to despise, from not condescending to enlighten; whom, too anxious to govern, they would have debilitated and degraded.

Unfavourable to the rise of original genius.

But the most injurious effect, from the exclusive or too long-continued study of the Latin literature, was its tendency to preclude the evolution of genius, and the formation of original thought.

It has been remarked, in the history of literature, that great excellence has been usually followed by decline. No second Augustan age is found to occur. A Virgil emerges, and, as if his genius cast on his countrymen an everlasting spell, no future Virgil appears—no second Homer, or Euripides—no succeeding Pindar, Horace, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Tacitus, or Cicero. The fact is remarkable; but it is to be accounted for, not by a deficiency in the birth of talent, but from its subsequent destruction by injudicious education.

It is in literature as in painting: if we study departed excellence too intently, we only imitate; we extinguish genius, and sink below our models. If we make ourselves but copyists, we become inferior to those we copy. The exclusive or continual contemplation of preceding merit, contracts our faculties within, and greatly within, its peculiar circle, and makes even that degree of excellence unattainable, which we admire and feed upon: we become mimics, instead of being competitors; mannerists, instead of originals; we are enslaved by a despotism from which we ought to have revolted.

Whence arises this strange, but oft-experienced result? From the operation of the laws of habit. The peace and comfort and discipline of the world, depend upon our susceptibility to their influence; but this influence is often a tyranny that deteriorates.

The

The length of application necessary to possess ourselves of the merit to which we devote our studies, tends to limit our progress, to chain our excursiveness, and to mould our faculties and their produce into an involuntary and dependent imitation of the models on which our attention is so continuously exercised. If when the limbs are most flexible, we are made to walk perpetually in a certain posture, the attitude will be our gait for the rest of our lives. While our ancestors studied no authors but the Roman, the literary mind of England became romanized, and nothing more. No original genius appeared. Our literature was a debased recoinage of the Latin, as in Geoffry of Monmouth, Joseph of Exeter, John of Salisbury, Malmsbury, and the other writers, whose Latin compositions crowd the catalogues of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

If there be no originality, there can be no improvement. If there be no deviation from existing habits, there can be no progression. To be original, is to escape from intellectual bondage and sterility, and to acquire a possibility of being superior. Novelty is an avenue to greater excellence; the enterprise may be unproductive, but it has the chance of success. Originality is not indeed always useful; it may lead to error and vice, as well as to truth and virtue; or rather, as wisdom is more rare than folly, the eccentricities of the human mind will be oftener connected with mistake than with utility. But error leads ultimately to truth; and is the penalty which human weakness must pay to attain it. No false opinion can arise, but the vindictive feeling of existing habits is zealous to correct it. Providence allows licentiousness and despotism, prejudice and absurdity, to conflict with each other, till they expire from their mutual wounds. Moderation then prevails from its necessity. The judgment of society extracts from the opposing sentiments, the good which they

 possess,

possess, and consigns the evil to oblivion. But the discussion puts the mind into activity, and the result carries human knowledge one step forward; the reason is roused to look beyond its stationary habits, and new perceptions of truth always follow new exertions and new prospects.

At the time of the Norman conquest, originality of mind, of reasoning and feeling, was indispensable to human advancement; and by an admirable process, that which was wanted, was attained.

But the Latin literature most usefully preceded and accompanied the new improvements. These indeed could not have been attained without it; and when disclosed, were beneficially pursued, watched, directed, and disciplined by it.

Vernacular literature wanted, for the national improvement.

The great intellectual want, after the Norman conquest, was that of an original vernacular literature, which would interest and educate the general mind of the community; awaken its moral sympathies by narrative, fiction, and useful poetry; instruct it by intelligible pictures of life and manners; bring the natural feelings into activity; and guide the human judgment to just determinations, and due appreciations of probity, decorum, honour, and the family charities of life. It was the complaint of our great Alfred, that the learned Anglo-Saxons who had preceded him, would not translate the books they possessed, into their own language; and from this reason, when they died, they left the nation as ignorant as they found it[65]. The learned Anglo-Normans were as unsocial; they mastered their Latin treasures, but they never made them the property of the public. That public, therefore, continued in Egyptian darkness, although its cathedrals and monasteries were illuminated[66]. An attractive vernacular literature, was the only vehicle

[65] See Hist. Angl. Sax. v. 1. p. 297.

[66] The same has been remarked of Germany, as Duclos quotes from J. Wahlius, whose words I will add: "Accessit avaritia, sive ambitio monachorum ac sacerdotum, qui cum curam disciplinarum atque artium, pessimo

vehicle of knowledge that the courtier, the lady, or the world at large, could comprehend. Popular instruction being thus wanted for popular improvement, vernacular composition, which all could understand, relish, study, and imitate—in which the natural feelings could easily express themselves, and in which genius would find topics and modes of originality, which the scholastic trammels suppressed—was that species of literature, which was most essential to the evolution and the fertilization of the national mind. Poetry has the honour of having first produced it in England. The itinerant minstrels were the causing instruments, and a part of the lettered clergy the first effective agents, to introduce and diffuse it[67].

pessimo eorum sæculorum fato, inter claustra sua compegissent, studio et industria difficultatem horroremque linguæ alebant, ut absterritis a studio nobilibus, ipsi soli in aulis principium, eruditionis præmia et honores venditarent." Mem. Ac. v. 26. p. 279.

[67] On the Anglo-Norman authors, who wrote in Latin, Tanner's Bibliotheca Monastica exhibits a copious catalogue, alphabetically arranged, and ample notices of their works. The works of Leland, Bale, and Pitts, on our ancient authors, contain the earlier compilations. Dr. Henry's chapters, on the learning and the arts, are worth reading. For a more enlarged view of the literature of Europe during the middle ages, Brucker, Muratori, and Tiraboschi, are of great value. Landi's neat work, drawn from the latter, preserves the principal circumstances in an intelligent style. Mr. Berrington's History of the Literature of the Middle Ages, may be also read with pleasure and improvement. Guingene's Histoire Litteraire d' Italie, and Sismondi's Works, will amply reward perusal.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. III.

HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN JONGLEURS AND MINSTRELS.

PART II.

IN tracing the history of the vernacular poetry of England, it will be useful first to consider the earliest state of those men who began the cultivation of this delightful art.

In civilized ages, the poet, the musician, the singer and the actor, are distinct characters; in the ruder periods of nations, they have been usually united. The aoidoi and rapsodoi of ancient Greece, the bards of Wales, the harpers and gleemen of the Saxons, the northern scalds, and the citharœdi of the Romans, were itinerant performers, who combined the arts of poetry, music, singing and gesticulation[1].

After the Norman conquest, the same class of men, with the same union of talents and performances, were frequent in England and Normandy, and long continued to be popular, under various denominations[2].

In

[1] Cassiodorus mentions a citharœdus, "learned in his art, who could delight with his face and hands as well as by his voice." Var. l. 2. ep. 41. p. 64.

[2] Their Latin names are various—most commonly, histriones, joculatores, scurræ, mimi. But John of Salisbury adds saliares, balatrones, æmiliani, gladiatores, palestritæ, gignadii, præstigiatores, malefici. De nugis Curial. l. 1. c. 8.

In one of our earliest Anglo-Norman poems, we find them spoken of as chantur, fableier, jangleres, and menistre; and their art is called janglerie[3]. This author, though a rhimer himself, yet being an ecclesiastic, he calls his itinerant brethren, "the antechrist, perverting the age by their merry jangles[4]." He accuses them of getting the love of princes, and making them and prelates go astray[5]. He even classes these jangleors with liars, and declares that they will never acquire honour[6], and that they wilfully sport with moral obligations and good sense[7].

Another rhiming moralist, who has left us one of our ancient Anglo-Norman poems, contemplates them with an eye as intolerant, even while practising himself the most important branch of their art, and which their popular use must have contributed so much to improve, especially in its rhimes and rhythm. This author, forgetting their intellectual relationship to himself, seems to associate them in his mind with living devils, and forbids us to make or to attend to their romauns and fables[8]. By the phrases with which he connects them, he afterwards puts their jougler as attempting enchantment,

[3] Sanson de Nanteuil, in his rhimes on the Proverbs of Solomon, in the British Museum, Harl. N° 4388. censures those who

- - - - - aiment seculer
de lecheries de moiller
d'oir chantur et fableier—
- - - - - - - -
et bevient vin de felonie
d' oir fables et jangleric.

The MS. from the autograph in one page, "Jacobus rex Angliæ," appears to have belonged to our James I.

[4] Come li menistre antecrist sunt
Ki per jangleis le secle veintrunt
de deu les partirunt anceis
par lur facunde e lor jangleis.—Ib.

[5] Co redit de home jangleor
Ke de princes depart l'amur.
Princes sunt evesques noté
Et prelat d'eglise ordené—
Jangleres heom les fait irrer.—Ib.

[6] Jangleres hom ne menteor
Ne creistrunt ja a nul enor.—Ib.

[7] Raisun e dreit part ne pot plus
li heom ki de jangler ad us
Jugement ne pot plus garder
Kar tot li tolt sen sor parler
Dreit torne a tort par janglerie
Et tort a dreit par felonie.—Ib.

[8] Wilham de Wadigtoun, in his Manuel de Peche, MS. Harl. Lib. N° 4657 & 337.

Pechur sunt ceus chatifs
Bien le sachez a deples vifs
Romauns fables e chanceurs
Rotuanges e autres folurs
fere ne oir a teus jurs
Ne deit nule cum funt plusurs.

enchantment, and resembling sorcery and negromancy[9]. He gives them various names: at one time, he speaks of luturs, and describes them as making lutes and motuns, and playing with swords[10]; at another time he calls them jougleours, menestrans, ribaus, and chuffurs; fools, to whom it was folly to be liberal[11]. His phrases to express their performances also vary; he sometimes calls it making minstralcie and noiser[12]. He notices other diversions connected with their mirth; but he condemns and proscribes them all[13], especially if performed in churches or church-yards[14].

In the free translation of this work, in 1303, by Robert of Brunne, we find a more liberal feeling implied. He condemns the singing and dancing; but it is when practised in church-yards, or on holy days[15]: it is the accompanying the jogelours hasadoure or roture to the tavern, the devil's knife, which he blames[16]. In mentioning minstrels, he takes an opportunity of noticing how much the famous Bishop Grostête loved to hear the harp;

[9] En sorceres ne an sorcerie
Gardez vous ke vous ne creez mie—
Cunter lur sorceries
E menuement lur folies
Coe ne serroit fors jangler—
Si vous unkes par folie
Entre meistres de negromancie
Ov feistis al deble facfie
Ov enchantement par folie
Ov a gent de cele mester
Ren donastes pur lur jougler.—Ib.

[10] Sachent pur veir les luturs
Ky lutes funt a teus jours
Motuns mectent ov espée pendent.—Ib.

[11] Si par foll argesce ren donastes
A fous malement le emplaiastes
Coe est a dire al jougleours
Menestrans, ribaus ou chuffurs.—Ib.

[12] Sa menestralcie yloke feseit
Cum en aut e lus fere soleit—
le menestral oi noiser.

[13] Muses e teles musardies
Trepes, daunces, e teles folies—
Si funt certes li menestral.—Ib.

[14] Karoles ne lutes ne deit nul fere
En seint eglise ky me vont crere
Kar en cimitere karoler
Et outrage grant ou luter.—Ib.

[15] Roberd de Brunne dates his "English ryme" in 1303.
Gyf you make karol or play
You halewyst not thyn halyday—
- - - - - - - - - -
Karolles, wrastlynges or somour games
Whosoever haunteth any swyche shames
Yn cherche other yn cherchgerd—
MS. Harl. N° 1701.

[16] Gyf thou eithyr wyth jogeloure
With hasadoure or wyth roture
hauntyst taverne or were to any pere
to play at the ches or at the tablere—
Taverne ys the devylys knife
Hyt sleth the o soule or lyfe.—Ib.

harp; that night and days he had solace of notes and lays; and that he taught, that the virtue of the harp was such as to destroy even the power of Satan[17]. These alterations shew, that the taste of the age had learnt to estimate poetry and music more justly, and to discriminate between their merit and the consequences of their abuse.

Our old satirist, who assumes the name of Piers Plouhman, is not so charitable. He treats with visible contempt the "japers and juglers, and janglers of gests." He describes them as haunters of taverns and common ale-houses, amusing the lower classes with "myrth of mynstrelsy and losels tales." He brands them as tutors "of idleness, and the devil's diseours," who, make their hearers, "for love of tales, in taverns to drink." He angrily declares, that "he is worse than Judas, that giveth a japer silver[18]."

The same venerable author gives us full information of the "mynstrales" in his day. They are noticed as playing on the tabret, the trumpet, the fiddle, the pipe, and the harp; as singing with the giterne, dancing, leaping, and telling fair gestes[19]. They knew how to make mirth. They invented foul fantasies[20], played the

[17] He loved much to here the harpe
for mannys wytte hyt makyth sharpe
Neyr hys chaumbre besyde hys stody
His harpers chaumbre was fast therby
Many tymes be nygtys and dayys
He had solace of notes and layys
One asked hym onys resun why
He hadde delyte yn mynstralsy
He answered hym on thys manere
Why he helde the harper so dere
The vertu of the harpe thurgh skylle and rygt
Wyl destroye the fendes mygt.—Ib.

[18] See the Visions of Piers Plouhman.

[19] Ich can nat tabre ne trompe ne telle faire gestes—
ne fithelyn, at festes ne harpen;
Japen ne jagelyn, ne gentelliche pipe;
nother sailen ne sautrien ne singe with the giterne.—Ib. p. 253.

[20] And sommes murthe to make as mynstrals conneth,
That wollen neyther swynke ne swete bote swery grete othes,
And fynde up foul fantesyes and foles hem maken,
And haven witte at wylle to worche yf they wold.—Ib. p. 3.

the fool, told lies, and made men laugh[21]. They were rewarded with robes and furred gowns, mantles and money[22]. The love of lords and ladies presented them with gifts and gold[23]. Yet the satirist unsparingly declares, that he who gave to them, sacrificed to devils[24].

It seems clear, from the accounts transmitted to us concerning them, that they were not undeservedly reprehended. Their obscene practices, and the profligate effect of their tales, are mentioned by John of Salisbury[25]; and as some of their contes have come down to us, we can have no difficulty in perceiving, that while they were popular, the manners of society must have been gross and immoral. Hence, although the more dissolute of the ecclesiastical body encouraged and rewarded them[26], the sounder part of society pursued them with prohibitions and invectives, till they were at last driven from the more respectable walks of life to the lower orders. Their irregularities became then more rude and offensive, till their order expired amid the general contempt of an improving nation.

They

[21] Thuse thre manere mynstrales maken a man to lauke
In hus deth.—Ib.

[22] Ich am a mynstrale—
And fewe robes ich fange other forrede gounes.
Wolde ich lye and do men lauke, thenne latchen ich sholde
Mantels other moneye among lords minstrales.—Ib. 253.

[23] And alle manere mynstrales men wot wel the sothe—
For the lordes love and ladies that thei with lengen—
Gyven hem gyftes and gold.—Ib. 154.

[24] Qui histrionibus dat, demonibus sacrificat.—Ib.

[25] "Adeo error invaluit, ut a præclaris domibus non arceantur, etiam illi qui obscænis partibus corporis, oculis omnium, eam ingerunt turpidinem quam erubescat videre vel cynicus."—De nug. Cur. l. 1. c. 8.

[26] We have a remarkable instance of this, cited by M. Duclos in his Memoire sur les jeux sceniques. Hist. Ac. Ins. t. 26. p. 363. The Statutes of the count of Tholouse in 1233, state, that the monks at certain seasons of the year *sold* their wine *within* their monastery, and for a small sum admitted or introduced personas turpes, inhonestas, viz. joculatores, histriones, talorum lusores, et publicas meretrices, quod arctius prohibemus. See Du Chesne, v. 5. p. 819.

They were however once so esteemed, that we read both of the king's minstrels and the queen's minstrels[27]. But their success increased their depreciation; for it excited others to pursue the casual pleasures of a vagrant life under the pretence of minstrelsy—a practice that became so mischievous, as to occasion an order from Edward II. that none should resort to the mansions of the prelates, earls, and barons, unless they were actually minstrels[28].

The minstrels usually travelled in companies, singing every variety of lays, practising on all instruments of sound that were then known[29]; and exerting all the methods that fancy, frolic, and depravity had invented to excite the attention, interest the feelings, and stimulate the liberality of the different classes of society[30]. The traits already alluded to, are noticed in many ancient authors. We find them sometimes in a bishop's house, amusing him in his private life, during his hours of repast, by playing on instruments of music after he had said his grace;

[27] P. Plouhman says—

Clerkus and knyghtes wolcometh kynges mynstrales
For love of here lordes lithen hem at feastes.

In the reign of Edward I. we find Guillos de Psalteron called a minstrel of the queen. Rot. Gard. p. 7.

[28] See Edward's order, dated 1315, printed by Hearne, in his Leland Collect. vol. 6. p. 36. Their number is implied by this sentence :— "And of these minstrels that there come none except it be three or four minstrels of the honor at the most in one day, unlesse he be desired of the lord of the house."—The penalties for offending were, "at the firste tyme he to lose his minstrelsie, and at the seconde tyme to forsweare his craft."

[29] Wace describes them at Arthur's banquet in some detail :

Mult ost a la cort jugleors,
Chanteors et rumentours.
Mult poissez oir chancons
Rotuenges, et voialx sons.
Vileors, lais et notez,
Lais de vieles, laiz de rotez ;
Lais de harpez, laiz de fietalz,
Lires, tempes, et chalemealx ;
Symphoniez, psalterions ;
Monacors, des cymbes, chorons ;
Assez i ot tregetours,
Joierresses et joicors.—Brut. MS.

See Mr. Ellis' comments on this passage, 1 Spec. Poet. p. 48.

[30] On the last stage of the minstrels, see the latter part of Mr. Ritson's Dissert. on Romance and Minstrelsy, prefixed to his Metrical Romances, vol. 1.

grace[31]; or they were admitted after the tables were removed, and even in the presence of majesty, to furnish their addition to the stately entertainment[32]. Sometimes relating tales, pathetic or ludicrous; sometimes diffusing flatteries on the actions of the great; they were every where welcome[33]. The moralist wished their melodies to be connected with sacred subjects[34]. But their harvest was either more plentiful or more grateful from meaner practices. Hence they vaulted over ropes on horseback, like our present tumblers[35]; they played with the pendent sword[36]; they taught animals to perform various tricks; and they imitated the notes of birds[37]. They practised all the arts of buffoonery, which were calculated to attract to them money, dresses, or feasting[38].

Sometimes

[31] Ly eveske ses mains laveit,
E al manger se aturneit.
Apres coe k'il fu assis,
E pain esteit devant ly mis,
Kant la benison dust doner,
Le Menestral oi noiser.
Wad. Man. MS.
Chaucer says
At every course came loude minstralcie.
p. 28.

[32] Quand les tables ostees furent,
Cil jugleur en pies esturent.
Sont vielles et harpes prises,
Chansons, sons, lais, vers et reprises:
Et de geste chanté nos ont.—
Tournam. d' Antech. Fauchet, p. 72.
So Chaucer describes them:
And so befell that after the third course
While that this king sit thus in his noblay,
Hearkning his minstrals her things play,
Before him at his boord deliciously. p. 23.
Thus the Roman d'Alexandre,
Quand li rois ot mangie s'apella Helinand
Pour li esbanoier comanda que il chant.
Du Cange Min.

[33] Chaucer says,
And jestours that tellen tales
Both of wepyng and of game.—
The minister of Richard I. even hired them to sing his praises in the streets. Hoved.

[34] Brunne allows us to hear minstrelsy on religious themes:
Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphangle,
Wurschepe God yn troumpes and sautre,
Yn cordys, an organes and bellys ryngyng,
Yn al these wurschepe ge hevenes kyng.
Gyf ge do thus, Y sey hardly,
We mow here gour mynstralsy.
Brunne MS.

[35] Albericus, in 1237, among the performances of the minstrels, mentions that one, in equo super chordam in aëre saltavit.
Du Cange, voc. Min.

[36] See before, note 10. So Wace says that Taillifer threw up his sword. MS.

[37] King Alphonso mentions jongleurs, qui font sauter des singes, des boucs ou des chiens; qui contrefont les oiseaux. Hist. Troub. 2. p. 366.

[38] The worthy Strutt has collected many particulars on the ancient gleemen minstrels, &c. and given some curious plates of them, in his Sports and Pastimes, p. 158—188.

Sometimes they are described as attending the courts of princes in bodies, and obtaining gifts of gold and silver, horses, and costly garments[39]. Their merry and licentious life, and the reputation and patronage they enjoyed, sometimes attracted many, and at times even some of the superior ranks, to join their society[40].

In some of the Troubadours we have a full account of the talents that were expected from the reputable jongleurs[41]. From one of them we learn, that their patrons had become critical on their merits, and that while excellence was rewarded with peculiar liberality, inferior pretensions were neglected[42]. Before the thirteenth century closed, their general popularity began to lessen. "Is a song obscure and highly valuable, few understand it; is it perspicuous, it is not valued. The profession is treated as a folly; and

[39] Rigordus mentions, with great indignation, that he had seen princes give vestments most skilfully embroidered with various devices of flowers, which had cost 20 or 30 marks of silver, to these minstrels, whom he very sincerely calls the Devil's ministers. De Gest. Phil. p. 178.

[40] In one of the fableaux noticed by Fauchet, a Vavasor's wife is introduced as very earnestly dissuading him from becoming ministrier. p. 75.—Pierre d' Auvergne mentions a knight who had become jongleur, and says, "Cursed be he that gives him green garments." 2 Troub. 22.—Vidal introduces a jongleur, describing himself as having resolved to embrace their profession, from the benefits conferred on them by the princes he mentions. Hist. de Troub. vol. 2. p. 285.—The Troubadours were often noble: The earliest known was count of Poitou—Garin was a chevalier—Pons de Capdueil a riche baron—Geoffroi Rudel a prince. Troub. pp. 39. 43. 85.

[41] Giraud de Cabreira, in his instructions to his jongleur, reproaches him for playing badly on the violin, and singing indifferently—for his inability to dance or jump like the jongleurs of Gascony—for giving them only dull pieces, and not those of the celebrated Troubadours—and for being ignorant of the histories and tales with which the jongleurs amused the great. 2 Hist. Troub. 496.—Giraud de Calanson tells the jongleur he is instructing, "Sache bien trouver et bien rimer, bien parler, bien proposer un jeu parti! Sache jouer du tambour et des cimballes, et faire retentir la symphonie. Sache jeter et retenir de petites pommes avec des couteaux, imiter le chant des oiseaux, faire des tours avec des corbeilles, faire attaques des chateaux, faire sauter au travers de quatre cerceaux: jouer de la citale et de la mandore, manier la manicarde et la guitare; garnir la roue avec dix sept cordes; jouer de la harpe et bien accorder la gigue pour egayer l'air du psalterion. Jongleur tu feras preparer neuf instrumens de dix cordes. Si tu apprends a en bien jouer ils fourniront a tous tes besoins." 2 Hist. Troub. 32.

[42] Giraud de Calanson, p. 33.

and I cannot think it otherwise, when I see it so little honoured[43]." They sometimes severely satirized each other[44]. While the mass of society was ignorant, they were at the head of its intellectual cultivation, and assisted to educate their countrymen; as the general mind improved, their defects and vices became more visible and more repulsive. Mental occupation of a superior order improved the leisure of the great and studious. The minstrel became more degenerate as he was less valued, until at last he was proscribed as a useless and corrupting vagabond.

Attempts were made to rouse them to aim at moral utility[45]—the object most worthy of a thinking being, compatible with the finest taste and the truest pleasures, and giving to them a meaning and a sanction which both hallow and redouble them; but the minstrel and the jongleur were not found to be improvable beings, and therefore the world hailed and encouraged the cultivation of their most intellectual qualities by another order of men, whom we next proceed to notice, and who have created or revived for modern society, that species of composition which seems to be the most connected with refinement of taste, true sensibility, elegant recreation, and high cultivation of mind and manners. Such are the effects of genuine poetry. It civilized Greece—it has polished Europe—it may yet, from the lyre of some future Shakespeare or Milton, moralize the world. But to produce this noble effect, it must itself be moral. And why should genius at any time forget, that immoral poetry is one of the worst enemies of human society; and the surest, though insidious, destroyer of national greatness?

[43] Giorgi, a Troubadour in 1270, in one of his Sirventes. p. 361. He exclaims, "Maudit soit celui qui m'apprit l'art des vers." Ib.

[44] See Pierre d'Auvergne's Sirvente against 12 Troubadours. 2 Hist. Troub. 22—25. Some one returned him the compliment: "Pierre d'Auvergne sings like a frog in a marsh, and yet goes about boasting that he has no equal. He ought to have some one to explain his verses, for no one can understand them."—Ib. 26.

[45] See Giraud Riquier's Supplication au Roi de Castile au nom des Jongleurs, 2 Hist. Troub. 357; and the king Alphonso's interesting answer, p. 364—372.

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CHAP. IV.

HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN VERNACULAR POETRY.

THE origin of vernacular poetry in Europe, must be ascribed to its itinerant minstrels. Among their diversified companies, which in their various classes comprized all the amusive powers, popular feelings, and cultivated talent of the day, some must have been capable of better things than mechanical repetitions of favourite airs or fantastic mummery. The dull or vulgar jongleurs may have been but jesters, mountebanks or fiddlers; but they who could compose songs and satires, and "tell faire gestes and tales both of weeping and of game," must have cultivated the talents of invention and composition. At first indeed the composer sang and played, and the songster composed; but as the art improved, the musician became separated from the poet.

Universality of the minstrel lays.

As they aimed to please, and lived by pleasing, their topics were always the most popular of the day. In the barbarous ages of eternal battle, war and rapine were their themes[1]. When religion

[1] As the songs of the Northern scalds, so often quoted by Snorre; and the poems of Aneurin, Llywarch Hen, Meilyr, Gwalchmai, and Cynddelw, printed in the Welsh Archaiology, vol. 1.

religion became cultivated, the praises of the saints were added[2]. Love-songs, tales of all sorts, legends, lies, histories, and bacchanalian airs, all took their turn[3]. Their subjects were adapted to their company; and as the clergy were as fond of their performances as the barons, and the monastery had as good cheer and as rich presents to give as the castle, the taste and patronage of the religious were at times as eagerly consulted and obeyed as that of their secular neighbours. Hence all sorts of composition became familiar to the versifying wanderers—the grave as well as the gay; the religious as well as the risible; the warlike, the jovial, and the amatorial.

Their corruptions

But as all the public amusements of those days beyond the warlike pastimes, centered in these vagrants, their popularity alarmed the infant moral sense of society, beginning to civilize, to a perception of their dissolute habits and indecent exhibitions. Profiting more by inflaming the worst passions of man, than by addressing his better feelings, their performances were so licentious and so seductive, as to rouse the hostility of the wiser part of the nation[4]. Councils issued decree after decree, to prohibit the ecclesiastics from frequenting their society[5]; and such were their attractions, that it was even found necessary to forbid priests and monks from practising, not only their art, but its most obnoxious

[2] Ord. Vit. mentions, of a St. William, that vulgo canitur a joculatoribus de illo cantilena. p. 598.

[3] See Wace's account of the minstrels' songs at the court of Arthur, cited before, p. 433. He adds,

Le uns desoent contes et fables
Auquant demandoent dez et tables.
Ellis, p. 49.

Denis Pyramis says,

Lircy li prince e li courtur
Cunt, Barun, e Vavasur,
Ayment cuntes, chanceurs e fables
E bon diz qui sunt delitables.
MS. Cott. Lib. Domit. A 11.

[4] Even Charlemagne, who loved the ancient songs of his countrymen, yet brands these popular vagrants as viles personæ, who ought not to have the right of accusing—as infamiæ maculis aspersi; id est, Histriones, ac turpitudinibus subject æpersonæ. Capit. Baluz. t. 1. col. 229.

[5] See the councils quoted in the Memoire of Duclos, p. 359.

noxious exertions[6]. The theological writers also pursued them with invectives[7]. But laws and sermons are feeble, while the taste is gross, and the manners are corrupt. The pleasing arts and ribaldry of the minstrels won the ear, delighted the leisure, and seduced even the imitation of the great. Kings, barons, prelates, and ladies, invited, rewarded, and emulated them[8]. The minstrels in their turn endeavoured to revenge themselves on the clergy, who discountenanced them; and contes devots abounded, satirizing the vices, and ridiculing the persons, the tenets and the customs, of the ecclesiastical body[9]. This mutual exposition of each others faults, increased the moral criticism of society on both.

But it is impossible to suspend the charms of narrative fiction, or to destroy the magical effects of language arranged musically into rhythm. The verbal melody arising from rhime and metre, has in all its forms of collocation, and in every country, been found to delight the mind as irresistibly, as the chords and symphonies of the harp, the viol, and the lute, have gratified the ear.

Induce the clergy to write vernacular poetry.

The perception of this effect in themselves, and the observation of its influence over others, led some of the clergy to feel that the

[6] "We absolutely forbid the ministers of the altar, and monks, turpis verbi vel facti joculatorem *esse*—Clericos scurriles et verbis turpibus joculares ab officio detrahendos. Bal. Capit. t. 1. col. 1202, 1207.

[7] Thus Agobard calls them *turpissimos* que et vanissimos joculatores. de Dup. eccl. ap. Du Clos. p. 360. M. Caylus confesses, in his Memoire on the Fableaux, that he cannot excuse nor render public "l'obscenité de leurs contes." Mem. Ac. Inscr. t. 34. p. 116.

[8] Denis Pyramis begins his life of king Edmund with a palinodia on his former conduct in imitating these minstrel-lays—

Mult ay use cum pechere
Ma vie en trop fole maniere;
E trop ay use ma vie
En peche e en folie.
Kant courte hautey of les curteis.
Si fesei les servienteis,
Chanceurs ettes rymes saluz
Entre les drues e les druz
Mult me penay de teles vers fere.
MS. Domit. A 11.

[9] Some of these Le Grand has published, which sufficiently shew both the wit and malice of the lay fableur.

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the popularity of poesy was not to be extinguished by denunciatory ordinances or angry censures[10]; a wiser plan was conceived, that of combining the delight with utility, the amusement with innocence. Taught by a happy taste, they saw at last the possibility of separating the poet from the minstrel, as well as from the musician—of cultivating that art in the study and in the cloister, which was so popular in the festive hall and in the streets, and of connecting it with better subjects than the adulations and topics that pleased at the banquet, or the licentiousness and buffoonery that excited and injured the populace[11].

We cannot now distinguish the individual who began this revolution in literary composition and public taste. It required much courage in the first adventurers. The study of the Roman classics had made Latin versification such a prevailing passion, that the first clerk who wrote native rhimes must have endured great contempt for his illiterate habit, and perhaps some obloquy for imitating the lays of the discredited minstrel.

The Anglo-Saxon clergy had favoured the custom; and our Alfred, in his metrical translations of the poetry of Boethius, gave a noble example of its practicability and merit[12]. But the literature of the Anglo-Saxons perishing from their sensuality, their efforts were forgotten in the general contempt, of their conquerors, both for their manners and language.

In the reign of Henry I.

It was among the Anglo-Norman clergy, and from the patronage of

[10] Denis Pryamis confesses the attraction of these poetical compositions:

E les vers sunt mult amez
E en ces riches curtes loez;—
E si en est ele mult loée,
E la ryme par tut ameé
Kar mult l'ayment, si lunt mult cher,
Cunt, barun e chivaler.—MS. Ib.

[11] With this motive Denis Pyramis wrote, and from this motive claims the attention of the great:

Rei dunt prince e empereur,
Cunt, barun, e vavasur
Deuvent bien a ceste œuvre entendre,
Kar bon ensample il purrunt prendre.
MS. Ib.

[12] See Hist. Ang. Sax. on Aldhelm's songs, vol. 2. p. 287; on the Saxon Judith, p. 304—308; on Cedmon, p. 309—316; and on Alfred's poetry, 321—323.

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of the Anglo-Norman ladies, that our first national poetry, distinct from minstrel recitation, arose. The reign of our Henry I. was the æra of its appearance, and either England or Normandy its birth-place. His first queen, Mathilda, was fond of poems, made not by minstrels, but by scholars[13]; and as it is impossible to suspect her of knowing Latin, they must have been written in the language of her husband and his court, which she understood, the Anglo-Norman. That this vernacular poetry was cultivated in Henry's court, we have the most decisive evidence, from a specimen of it yet existing, our earliest, which is addressed to his second queen, Adeliza[14]. Thus we may infer, that Henry's fondness for letters excited his queens to cultivate a literary taste; and that the impossibility of their having it but from compositions which they could understand, induced the clergy to apply themselves to vernacular poetry. The royal patronage and necessities, and the taste of the female sex, raised poetry from the pollutions of the minstrel, who sang to live, and therefore sang as the gross taste of a gross vulgar required, to the cultivation of studious men, whose taste the Latin literature had refined, whose memory its recorded facts had stored, whose emulation was kindled by its ancient reputation, and who sought for lettered fame by respectable composition

Popularity of their works.

Vernacular poetry once esteemed in the higher circles of life, could not fail to be generally attractive[15]. The human heart loves virtue,

[13] From the account of Malmsbury, of her patronage, these clerical poets seem to have been numerous: Inde liberalitate ipsius per orbem sata, turmatim huc adventabant scholastici cum cantibus, tum versibus famosi, felicem que putabant, qui carminis novitate aures mulceret dominæ. Hist. p. 164.

[14] See further, note 25.

[15] Denis Pyramis, after mentioning the roman of Parthenope,

Cil ki Partonope trova
e ki les vers fist e ryma—

and Marie's lays,

E Dame Marie autrefi
Ki en ryme fist e basti—

again mentions the popularity of this vernacular

virtue, though it may falter in practising it. The mind tends to good taste and judgment, though it may be withheld, by opposing circumstances, from acquiring them. Hence the clerical versifyer became more encouraged than the minstrel, by the intellectual and the respectable. Even they who read the immoral composition, cannot but despise its author. Though men may practise vice, no man has respected the vicious. Therefore as soon as society found presented to its option, poetry more useful and more creditable than the licentious songs of the minstrels, the improved taste of the nation liberally encouraged it. The new poetry found ample patronage, and the patronage multiplied both the new rhimers and their works[16]. Wace, a canon of Bayeux, and one of the most prolific rhimers that ever practised the art, states expressly, that his works were composed for the "rich gentry who had rents and money[17]." He prudently reminds the great, that unless "par clerc" their actions were recorded, their celebrity could have no duration[18]; and he takes care to inform them,

nacular poetry. He says of counts, barons and knights,

e si en ayment mult l'escrit,
e lire le funt, si unt delit;
e si les funt sovent retraire.

So of ladies,

Les lays soleient as dames plere;
De joye les oyent e degre,
Quil sunt sulun lur volente.

MS. Ib.

[16] The clerical poets took high ground: they declared their works to be essential to the formation of reputable character. Thus Beneit, in his rhimed chronicle of Normandy:

Oir, veeir, aprendre, faire
Retenir, ourer e retraire,
Senz ceo ne puet de nul eage,
Nuls estre pruz, vaillant, ne sage;
Tels sunt afaitée e curteis;
E maistre des arz e des leis.
Si ne fust buens enseignement
Doctrine oirs retenement,
Qui fussent sans discretion,
Vilain, senz sen e sanz raison.

Therefore He

—al soverein e al meillur
Escrif, translat, truis e rimei.

MS. Harl. N° 1717.

[17] Jeo parout a la riche gent,
Ki unt les rentes a le argent,
Kar pur eus sunt li livre fait;
E bon dit fait, e bien retrait.

MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[18] Bien entend conuis e sai
Que tuit murrunt, e clerc, e lai;
E que mult ad curte decrée,
En pres la mort lur renumee;
Si par clerc ne est mis en livre,
Ne poet par el dureement vivre.

MS. Ib.

them, that they who wrote "gestes and histories" had always been highly honoured and beloved[19], and that barons and noble ladies had often given handsome presents, to have their names commemorated[20]. The clergy thus aiming at the remuneration for which the minstrels sang, we shall not be surprised that they also sometimes took their subjects from the songs of the itinerant jongleurs, and revived them in a superior style. This fact is avowed in the preface to one of the Romans on Charlemagne[21]; and also in the Roman du Florimont[22]. The consequence of the clergy making these compositions was, that narrative poetry, or, what was believed to be so, and written as such, became soon a respectable, a highly valued and an improving art, operating powerfully in augmenting the intellectual cultivation of the people.

The

[19] Mult soelent estre onuré,
E mult preise, e mult amé;
Cil ki les gestes escrivieient,
E ki les estoires treiteient.
MS. Ib.

[20] Suvent aveient des barruns,
E des nobles dames beaus duns,
Pur mettre lur nuns en estoire,
Que tuz tens mais fust de eus memoire.
MS. Ib.

[21] One of the romans on Charlemagne, in rhime, Brit. Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. explicitly states, That a Clerc had composed and revived it from a chançon of a jongleour—

Or entendez seigneurs, que dieu vous benie,
Le glorieulx du ciel, le filz saincte Marie,
Une chancon de moult grant seigneurie
Jugleurs la chantent e ne la scevent mie
Moult a este perdue picca ne fu ouye
Ung Clerc la recouvret que Jhu Crist benye
Les vers en a escrips, toute la restablie,
Savez on les trouva dedens une abbaye.
MS.

[22] This was written by Aymes de Florimont. He says he has said it as he found it written, or as he took it from good Trouveurs:

Dou roy Florimont vous ai dit
Ce que jeu ai trouvé escript;
Or pri a ceuz qui oi lont
E as bons trouveurs qui sont.
MS. Harl. N° 3983.

That the minstrels had composed romans on the subjects which the clerical rhimers so prodigiously expanded, the Chronicon du Guesclin states—

Qui veut avoir renom des bons et des vaillons,
Il doit aler souvent a la pluie et au champs,
Et estre en la bataille, ainsy que fu Rollans;
Les quatre fils Haimon et Charlon li plus grans;
Li dus Lions de Bourges, et Guion de Connans,
Perceval li Gallois, Lancelot et Tristans,
Alixandres, Artus, Godefroy li sachans,
De quoy *cils menestriers font les nobles romans.*
Du Cange, voc. Minist.

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Philip du Than's poem.

The most ancient specimens of the vernacular poetry of the Anglo-Norman clerks, are the two poems on Animals, by Philippe du Than. His works consist of about 1800 lines, rhimed in the middle[23]. His first he sent to his uncle, the chaplain of the seneschal of Henry I. for his correction[24]. Besides its rhimes, there is a rhythm in the cadence of his lines, which shows the infant state of the French heroic verse. The second is Le Bestiaire, addressed to the "mult bele femme, queen Aliz[25]." It notices several animals, and attaches allegorical significations to each, which must have pleased our ancestors, from his writing them; but which only could have pleased them, because, in the total vacuity of their ignorance, any ideas, any reading, were preferable to none. Literature in any shape is so grateful, that it requires some little cultivation to detect or to dislike even its absurdities[26]. The beautiful queen was therefore, no doubt, edified and interested by knowing, that the lion signifies our Saviour, and the "cocodrille" the devil; and that the attraction of iron by the loadstone, implies the conversion of pagans to christianity[27]. He calls his work "reasoning;" it is indeed any thing but poetry.

Sanson de Nanteuil's.

Another clerical rhimer, to whom the versification of our ancient poetry

[23] MS. Cotton Library, Nero A. 5.—This and some other of the Anglo-Norman poets remained unnoticed in the British Museum, till the Abbe de la Rue saw and described them. See his papers, published by the Antiquarian Society, in the Archæologia, vols. xii. & xiii.

[24] Philippe du Thaun ad fait une raisun.
A sun uncle l'enveiet, que amender la deiet.
Si rien iad mesdit ne en fait ne en escrit.
A unfrei de Thaun, le chapelain Yhun,
E seneschal du rei icho vus de par mei.
MS. Nero.

[25] Philippe du Thaun en franceise raisun,
Ad estrait bestiare un livere de grammaire.
Pur louur d'une geme ki mult est bele femme.
Aliz est numée, reine est corunée.
Reine est d'engleterre, sa ame nait ja guere.—MS. Ib.

[26] And yet Du Than is not worse than the celebrated Orpheus appears in the mythological poems on stones ascribed to him—and published by Gesner. In meaning, there seems to be no superiority.—His writing on animals may have been owing to Henry the 1st's attachment to them.

[27] E cel virtu ad en sei, le fer trait od sei;
Signifie ge Xens traient a la lur les paens,
Quant il laissent lur eresie e creient el fiz scæ Mariæ.—Du Than. MS. Ib.

poetry must have been much indebted, was Sanson de Nanteuil[28], who lived in the reign of Stephen. He then wrote what he calls a Romanz[29]. It is a translation of the Proverbs of Solomon into eight-syllable verse of Norman French, with a copious "Glosse." His plan is, to give the Latin vulgate of a verse or more, then his versified translation; and afterwards his glosse, which is sometimes moral, and sometimes allegorical. If quantity could compensate for defect of quality, he would abundantly satisfy us, for he has contrived to rhime above 12,000 lines into couplets. He also implies the state of the minstrel poetry, by classing the hearing of songs and tales among the acts of criminal voluptuousness. To us the rhime is the only mark of poetry in its composition; but, as a collection of didactic aphorisms in familiar verse, it must have been an important present to the awakening thought of the unlearned population. This is another of the works, which our ancient literature owed to the intellectual curiosity of the Anglo-Norman ladies[30].

The encouragement given to literature in England, from the happy taste of Henry I. his queens, court, and clergy, so diffusely spread the desire to attain it, that even the stormy reign of Stephen seems to have been no impediment to its cultivation. Perhaps the military exactions and movements confined the clergy to their homes and monasteries, and made them more studious. It is certain

[28] MS. Harleian, N° 4388. This is a beautiful specimen of the ancient calligraphy.

[29] Ki ben volt estre engranz
Entendet dunc a cest romanz
Qi al loenge damne de
Et a senor al translate.
Sanson de Nanteuil. MS. Ib.

[30] The preceding extract continues—
- - - - Ki souient
De sa dame qu'il aime e crient;
Ki mainte feiz l'en out pried
Qi li disclairast cel traited.
Le num de ceste damme escrist
Cil ki translation fist,
Aeliz de cunde l' apele,
Noble dame enseigne et bele.
Sanson MS. Ib.

So Aymes says he wrote his Florimont to please a lady—
Seigneur oz oies que je di
Aymes pour l'amour de Neilli,
Si fist le romans si sagement.
Aymes MS. Harl. N° 3983.

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certain that this wasteful period of civil misery was the interval in which the Anglo-Norman mind was extensively educating itself. Not only did a number of chroniclers and historians, of Latin poets and logicians, of theologians and civilians, then prosecute their studies, preparatory to their development in the succeeding reign of Henry II; but a sort of school of Anglo-Norman poetry was formed, in which, to write vernacular histories became the prevailing taste. We can distinguish three great contemporaries of this school, great from the massiveness and important effects of their works, Wace, Gaimar, Beneoit: and we find several others alluded to.

Wace's historical poems.

Wace, the superior of all, in the fluency and metre of his verse, and sometimes in narrative ability, has left us an interesting notice on his own biography. He was born in Jersey, was taken young to Caen, and there put to school[31]; he was afterwards in France, and returning to Caen, he applied himself to writing romanz, to which the king encouraged him[32], and for which Henry II. gave him a prebend at Bayeux. In another place, he complains, that the noblesse which had patronized him was dead, and that no one was liberal to him but his sovereign, "Henris li secunt[33]." Probably like Blackmore, he had satiated the public taste, and outlived the public favour.

The first work of his that we are acquainted with, was his Brut, or

[31] Si l'on demande qui co dist
Qui ceste estoire en romanz fist
Io di e dirai qi io sui
Wace del isle de Gersui
Qui est en mer vers occident
Al fieu de Normandie apent
En l'isle de Gersui fui nez
A chaem fui petit portez,
Illoques fui a lettres mis
Pois fuis longues en france apris."
Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[32] Quant io de france repairai
A chaems longues conversai
De romanz faire m' entremis
Mult en escris e mult en fis
Par deu aie e par le rei.
MS. Ib.

[33] Morte est qi jadis fud noblesce
E perie est od lui largesce—
Ne truis guaires ki rien me dunt
Fors le Reis Henris li secunt.
MS. Ib.

or his roman, composed from Jeffry's British History. He dates this himself, as having been written in 1155[34]. That Anglo-Norman poetry so early connected itself with history, and yet diverged into fable, may be thus accounted for.

A taste for historical information prevailed in England after the Norman conquest. So great a revolution excited a desire in the Normans to commemorate it; and William of Poitou, with Sallust in his mind[35], attempted to narrate it. Marianus, born either in Ireland or Scotland, and who had settled at Mentz, attached himself to the study of chronology, and corrected the erroneous computations that had been made from the Christian æra[36]. His work excited Robert of Lorraine, who had been made bishop of Hereford, to cultivate the same important branch of inquiry[37]. History thus recommended to the notice of the Anglo-Normans, became the peculiar study of the earl of Gloucester, the natural son of Henry I.; and to his urgency, and that of a literary prelate, his contemporary, we owe the History of William of Malmsbury, and the Annals of Henry of Huntingdon. Their taste spread around.

In this state of the public mind, and while the vernacular poets had thought only of composing the dull allegory of Du Than, the Proverbs of Sanson, or Lives of Saints, a work appeared in Latin,

Jeffry of Monmouth's British History;

[34] He says,

Mil e cent cinquante cinc ans,
Fist Mestre WACE cest romans.
MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

In another MS. of this poem his name is written Gace—

Mil et CLV ans
Fist Maestre Gace cest romans.
MS. Harl. N° 6508.

Fauchet mentions two other MSS. in which he is called Metre Huistace, and Metre Wistace. p. 82.

[35] So Ordericus Vitalis remarks, p. 521.

[36] He wrote a Chronicon mundi to 1076, which Pistorius and others have published, on the plan of Dionysius Exiguus, who made the Christian æra the basis of his chronology, but he added 22 years which had been omitted. Malmsb. de Gestis Pont. 286.

[37] He abridged Marianus, ita splendide, says Malmsbury, p. 286. that he excelled his original. He wrote several treatises on lunar computations; on the motions of the stars; mathematical tables, &c. He died 1095.

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Latin, which gave a new direction to their talent, and may be regarded as the real parent of our narrative poetry. This was Jeffry of Monmouth's British History. In the latter part of the reign of Henry I. an archdeacon Walter put into the hands of Jeffry, a book in Welsh, which he stated that he had found in Bretagne, relating the actions of the ancient kings of Britain, from Brutus to Cadwallader. From this history, amplified by the addition at least of verbal information on Arthur from Walter, and by the insertion of Merlin's Prophecies[38], Jeffry gave to the world a Latin work, which he declared to be a translation of the Welsh author[39]. He dedicated it to the earl of Gloucester, whose approbation was celebrity; and he addressed the Prophecies to the bishop of Lincoln, a munificent prelate, fond of learning, and distinguished by the knights and noblemen in his train, and who had requested Jeffry to translate the vaticinations of Merlin from the British into Latin[40].

Its great popularity.

Thus highly introduced into the world, and flattering as it did the vanity of the population of Britain, by deriving it from a nation so immortalized in song as the Trojans, and by giving it a common ancestry with the Romans, and of equal antiquity, it is not surprising that it was favourably received in England. But its own intrinsic merits were great. Jeffry was himself a smooth Latin versifier, and his style is flowing and easy. The book was full of new and extraordinary incidents. Its historical fictions were

[38] Jeffry Mon. l. 1. c. 1.—He begins his eleventh book, on the wars between Arthur and Modred, with saying, that he will write ut in Britannico sermone invenit et a Galtero Oxenofordensi in multis historiis peritissimo viro audivit. l. 11. c. 1—and see l. 7. c. 1 & 2.

[39] Several of Jeffry's interspersed observations imply that he has rather made a book of his own than merely translated an author. If he merely translated, why should he decline to handle particular points of the history because Gildas had already told them, or told them better, as in l. 4. c. 20. and l. 1. c. 17. He assumes here a right of shaping his work as he pleased; as he also does in l. 11. c. 10. when he declares his intention of relating elsewhere the Armorican emigrations.

[40] L. 7. c. 1 & 2.

were so many interesting romances; and it is often so dramatically and even poetically narrated, that it was peculiarly adapted to engage the attention of an age, to whose strong passions and wondering minds, even history would be more welcome for intermingled fable. It became so surprisingly popular, notwithstanding its anachronisms and falshoods, which few could then detect, and which, even down to our days, have been more or less defended, that it became a mark of rusticity to be unacquainted with it [41].

The connexion of our ancient Britons with the destruction of Troy, was not the invention of Jeffry. Solinus says, that an altar with Greek letters, in Caledonia, shows that Ulysses had landed there [42]. Ammianus Marcellinus, the Roman historian of the fourth century, relates, that in his days some said that Gaul had been peopled by some of the dispersed Greeks returning from Troy [43]; and Nennius briefly derives the Britons from Bruto the great grandson of the Trojan Æneas [44]. That the Welsh had also ancient genealogies to Belus Mawr, and from him to Æneas, we learn from Giraldus [45]. So that it is clear, the story of the Trojan descent of the Britons and Gauls was floating in the world before Jeffry wrote.

But all these traditions were vague, rude, and void of authority or circumstance, before Jeffry's book was published. In that they appeared in a stately port, with living forms and features, and with historical pretensions. Hence his history strongly impressed the imaginations of the Normans, whose surprising successes in France, England, and Sicily, had given them a taste for

[41] So says Alured of Beverley—and he adds—"and while others were talking of it, I often blushed that I had never seen it. I therefore sought for it; and when I found it, I studied it diligently." He then applied himself to abridge it, for more general circulation. Alur. Beverl. Ann. l. 1. p. 2.

[42] Solinus Polyhistor. c. 22.

[43] Amm. Marcel. l. 15. c. 9. p. 75.

[44] Nennius Hist. Brit. c. 3 & 4.

[45] Itin. Camb.

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for the splendid achievements of other times. From the writings of Wace, we may perceive that the great revolutions noticed in ancient history, which, though true, may be called its romantic periods, had already been presented to their notice[46]; and these cannot be contemplated at any time without exciting interesting thought. Wace dwells upon the theme with a visible fondness, and ingeniously moralizes upon it to enforce his inference, that unless preserved by letters, all memory of these mighty changes would have perished[47].

The British History of Jeffry electrified the literary mind of Europe. It startled some; it amused all. Many doubted; most admired; some disbelieved, and a few abused it. But it was so much talked of, that all whom intellectual subjects then interested, and their number was daily increasing, wished to become acquainted with it. The Anglo-Norman ladies, who seem to have rivalled the men in their literary curiosity, partook of the general feeling[48]; and one highly beneficial effect soon arose from this universal popularity—the application of the clerical poets to compose vernacular histories in verse. Jeffry's Latin dress was accessible only to the clergy. In Anglo-Norman verse, the courtier

[46] Wace begins his poem on the History of Normandy, with a recapitulation of the great events of antiquity—The fall of Thebes, Troy, Nineveh and Babylon. On Alexander he alludes to the fabulous accounts of his day—

Alisandre fud reis puissanz
Duze regnes prist en duze ans.

And Cæsar he describes as

Cesar ki tant fist e tant pout
Ki tut le mund cunquist e out.
MS. B. R. 4. c. 11.

[47] Tute rien turne en declin,
Tut chiet, tut moert, tut trait a fin
Tut funt, tut chiet; rose flaistrist
Cheval trebuche, drap viescist,
Huem moert, fer use, fust purrist
Tutte rien fatte od mein perist.

He then adds the passage quoted in the preceding note 18.

[48] Gaimar says that lady Custance sent for the book of British History, and borrowed it—

Ele enviad a Helmstac
Pur le livere Walter espac
Robert le grans de Glouceste
Fist translater icele geste,
Solum les liveres as Waleis,
Kil aveient des Bretons reis—
Dame Custance l'enpruntat
De son seigneur k'ele mult amat.
MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

courtier and the knight, the baronial and the female world, could understand and appreciate it[49].

Wace puts it into verse.

One of these popular versifiers was Wace, who in his 'Le Brut,' gave his countrymen, not so much a translation of Jeffry's work, but, what was more improving both to them and to himself, a narrative poem made from it in rhiming couplets, consisting, in their most perfect metre, of eight syllables in a line, but in the less finished verses, deviating into more[50].

In this performance, he frequently expatiates on his own resources in the parts that particularly interested him. He begins by stating the capture of Troy, and the escape of Æneas into Italy; but he expands nine lines of his original into sixty-eight of his own. In the same way he dilates Jeffry's ten first chapters into a thousand lines. But it is unnecessary to pursue the comparison minutely. We may say in general, that he takes his facts from his authority, but tells the story in his own phrase, omitting, expanding, and epitomizing as he pleased.

His success with this, and the taste for vernacular history, which was then created, encouraged him to new efforts; and two immense Norman histories in rhime proceeded from his pen, the Rou, and the Chronique de Normandie[51]. He appears to have devoted himself to this employment, and for some time at least to have been liberally patronized[52].

Another

[49] For this reason, Beneoit declares he wrote his hystorie—

Que de latin ou je la truis,
Si je ai le sens e je puis,
La vodrai si en roumanz mestre
Que cil que n'entendra la lestre
Delicier se puisse el roumans.
MS. Harl. 4482.

[50] It exists in MS. in Bib. Reg. 13. A 21. also Harl. N° 6508.

[51] In his roman de Normandie he thus mentions his Rou—

Ai jeo de Roul lunges cunte
E de sun riche parente
De Normandie, que il cunquist;
E des proesces que il i fist;
E de Guilleaume lunge espee
Avum l'estoire avant menée.
Wace MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[52] Mais ore puis jeo lunges penser
Livres escrire e translater;
Faire rumanz e serventeis;
Tant truverai, tant seit curteis;
Ki tant me diunst e mette en main
Dunt jeo aie un meis un escrivain.
Ne ki nul autre bien me face
Fors tant mult dit bien Maistre Wace.
MS. Bib. Reg. Ib.

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Gaimar's Estorie des Angles.

Another of these historical versifiers, was Geffrai Gaimar, whose "Estorie des Engles" follows the Brut of Wace in the MS. in the British Museum. He gives the existence of this work entirely to a Anglo-Norman lady. He says Dame Custance le gentil caused him to translate it; that he was a year about it[53]; that he had procured many English books, and others in Romanz and in Latin, to complete it; that without her aid he could not have finished it[54]; that she often had the work, often read it in her chamber, and gave him a mark of silver for transcribing it[55]. Some of his expressions imply, that he had written or intended to write on the Trojan story[56]; but the present copy begins where the Brut leaves off, and ends with William Rufus. He says that if he had chosen to have written of king Henry, he had a thousand things to say, which a Trouveur, whom he calls David, had not written, nor the queen of Louvain had possessed[57]. From him we learn, that David was another of these historical poets; but his praise by Gaimar is all that has survived of him[58].

A third

[53] Ici voil del rei finer;
Ceste estoire fist translater
Dame Custance la gentil
Gaimar i mist marz e averil
E tuz les duize mais
Ainz kil oust translate des reis.

[54] Il purchaca mainte esamplaire,
Liveres angleis e par grammaire;
E en romanz e en latin
A jur ken prist triaire a la fin
Si sa dame ne le aidast
Ja a nul jor nel achevast.
Gaimar MS. Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.

[55] Dame Custance en ad l'escrit
En sa chambre sovent le lit;
E ad pur lescrire done
Un marc dargent art e pese.
MS. Ib.

[56] Tres ke ce dit Gaimar de troie.
Il comencat la u Jasun
A la conquere la tuisun.—MS. Ib.

[57] Ore dit Gaimar, s'il ad garrant
Dei rei Henri, dirrat avant
Ke s'il en volt un poi parler
E de sa vie translater
Tels mils choses en purrad dire
Ke unkes Davit ne fist escrivere
Ne la raine de Luvain
N'en tint le livere en sa main.
MS. Ib.

[58] Bien dit Davit e bien trovat
E la chancon bien asemblat—
- - - - - - - - -
Ore mand Davit ke si li pleist
Avant che si pas nel leist
Car sil en volt avant trover
Son livere en pot mult amender.
MS. Ib.

A third great versifier of this school was Beneoit de Sainte More[59]. He chose the Trojan story for his subject, as a rich and great theme, and also as new[60]. He professes to take it from Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis. But though he may have borrowed his facts from his originals, he trusts to his own powers for his descriptions and general style. Some parts he dilates and dramatizes, not unhappily, as in his narrative of the intercourse between Jason and Medea. This is concisely told by Dictys Cretensis; but Beneoit gives interesting pictures of manners in his account of their dresses, her father's city, the amusements in his palace, and her splendid bed. He rises even sometimes to poetry, as in his description of the spring[61], when he is about to introduce Hercules and Laomedon; but his prevailing character is easy narrative, a pleasng metre, and fluent rhime[62].

Beneoit's Trojan poem,

Wace had mentioned that the subject of his Roman de Normandie had been anticipated by Maistre Beneoit, who had written on it by his sovereign's desire[63]. This work has come down to us, tremendous in its length[64]. He begins where Dudo begins, and proceeds

and Roman de Normandie.

[59] The copy in the British Museum, Harl. MS. N° 4482. is very neatly written, and much ornamented.

[60] Ceste hystorie nest pas usee
Ne en gaires de lieus trouvée,
Ja retraite ne fust encore
Mais Beneois de Sainte More
L'agmencie e faite e dite—
Moute e lestoire riche e graus
E de grant oevre e de grant fait.
Beneoit MS. Ib.

[61] Quant vint el tems que vers devise
Que herbe us point en la rise
Lorque florissent le ramel
E doucement chantent oisel
Merle mavins e loriol
E estournel e rossignol.
La blanche flors part en l'espine
E reverdoie la gaudine
Quant le tems e dou e souez
Lor partirent del port les nez.—MS. Ib.

[62] M. de la Rue's dissertation on these poets will reward the perusal. Archæol. vol. 12.—We owe their discovery to him.

[63] Oie eu avant qi dire en deit
Jaidit por Maistre Beneit.
Qi cest oure a dire a emprise
Com li reis la disor lui mise
Quant li reis li a roue faire
Laissier la dei si men dei taire.
Wace Norm. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[64] He thus twice mentions his name—
L'estorie de Guillaume fenist ci long espee
Si cum Beneeit la escrite e translatee
- - - - - - - - - - -
Ici comence l'estoire del rei Guillaume
Si cum Beneeit la translata.
MS. Harl. N° 1717. pp. 85 & 192.

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proceeds to the death of Henry I. He mentions Alice of Louvain, this king's last queen, as befriending him[65]; and though, he says, his labour has been grievous, he consoles himself by the pleasure he shall give his seignor Henry II. by his work[66].

All these rhimed histories, although in truth so wearisome that we are astonished at the patience which could read as well as at the perseverance that could write them, were important accessions to the intellect of the day. They made reading popular among the great and fair; they kindled the wish of these rulers of human society, to be themselves "inurned in song;" and by their description and praise of better actions, they contributed to extinguish such monsters as prevailed at that period. Being easy of comprehension, they provided an agreeable occupation for the leisure of the affluent, and thus made literature one of the needful luxuries of life. That they opened a pathway to natural poetry and original composition, was a merit that gives them high rank in our literary history.

Fictitious romances.

But their fecundity in time lessened their popularity; their lengthy and uniform narration ceased to interest when the novelty was over; the rage for histories in verse expired in satiety. The Trojan story was more interesting than the Chronique de Normandie; and the extraordinary adventures accompanying the Crusades,

[65] Puis prist femme li reis Henris
Pucele mult vaillant de sei
Qui fu fille au duc Godefrei
De Louan; si out non Aeliz
E si me retrait li escriz.
Beneoit MS. Ib.

I think this Alice is the queen of Louvain mentioned by Gaimar.

[66] Qual plaisir seit de mun seignor
Del bon rei Henri fiz Maheut,
Que si benigne cum il seut
Seit al oir e al entendre
Nest pas de mes pours l'amendre.
- - - - - - - - - -
Si soffert jai gref labor
Qual plaisir seit de mun seignor.
Benoit MS. Ib.

I have sometimes doubted if this author was Benoit de la More, because the style of the Trojan story seems more flowing and cultivated. Perhaps being more at liberty to use his fancy in that poem, his pen was improved by his invention.

Crusades, made the usual incidents of history appear flat and unprofitable. An Arthur that could be exaggerated at the pleasure of the imagination, was a far more delightful person than a William lung-espée, or than a Henry fiz-Maheut, whose sober actions were too well known to be misrepresented with credit. A new description of narrative compositions then prevailed, before whose superior charms the estorie gave way. These were the actual Romans, the numerous fictions starting at first under the garb, and vapouring with the name of history, but with every incident a fable. Some renowned characters in former times were taken as the basis of the story, as Arthur, Charlemagne, and Alexander, but on their foundation the writer raised what superstructure he pleased.

Wace's Chevalier au Lion.

In these, likewise, the indefatigable Wace led the way. His Chevalier au Lion seems to be one of the earliest fictitious romans that has descended to our knowledge[67]. But he was soon followed by an endless and motley train[68].

That there were tales and traditions in circulation about Arthur, before either Jeffry or Wace, both these writers acknowledge[69]. Jeffry's

[67] M. Galland mentions that the MS. of this romance, which he inspected, dates its composition 1155—Thus

Mil e cent cinquante ans
Fit Maistre Gasse ce romance.

3 Mem. Ac. 468.

The Chevalier au Leon is supposed to be the French original of the "Ywaine and Gawin," published by Mr. Ritson; if so, I should suppose it to have been a Breton tale.

[68] In the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. is a large handsome MS. folio that contains several French romances, viz. Charlemagne, Ogier le Danois, and Chevalier au Signe, in verse—and Alexandre, Montauban, Roy Pontus, and Guy de Warwick, in prose. The MS. 8. F 9. contains Guy de Warwyck, in eight foot verse, rhimed.—The MS. 16. G 2. the quatrefilz d'Aymon.—The MS. 20. B 19. has les Gestes de Garin, in French verse—and the MS. 20. D 2. and 20 D 3. consists of Tristram, and Lancelot du Lac, in prose.—The MS. 14. E 3. contains the ponderous St. Graal.—These will sufficiently satisfy any general curiosity on this subject.

[69] Jeffry Hist. l. 1. c. 1.; and Wace, in these passages of his Brut—

Fist Artur la ronde table
Dunt Breton dient meint fable—

He says, in this great country

Furent les merveilles privées
E les avantures trovées,
Ke de Artur sunt controvees,
E a fables sunt turneis.—

He adds,

Tant ont li contur conté
E lui fablur tant fablé, &c.

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Jeffry's book seems to have been the parent of some of the romans on Arthur; but the numerous incidents which others describe, of this king and his knights, which have no resemblance to any thing in Jeffry, may have been derived from the Breton tales[70]. The story of Tristram discovers its Breton origin in every part[71]; the San Graal, and many of the Round Table lays, point to the same source.

Turpin's History of Charlemagne.

Of the romances on Charlemagne and his twelve peers, the fictitious history of Turpin is undoubtedly the ancestor[72]. It is very difficult to ascertain when this was written[73]. It has been conjectured

[70] The above extracts from Wace are such decisive evidence of the existence of the Breton lays about Arthur, that Bretagne has certainly great claims to the orign of this cyclus of romance—the earliest perhaps that appeared in England and France.

[71] There is a Drem-ruz famous in the Breton history. I have sometimes asked whether he was the Tristram of romance, who is always made a Breton prince. Drem-ruz inverted would be ruz-drem—It means ruddy-face.—M. Douce, in answer to my query, says, "The inverted name of Tramtris was given to Tristram in his infancy, when he was bred up as the son of a person not his parent. He more than once assumes the name in the course of the romance—once as the tutor of Iseult, and again when disguised as a merchant."

[72] Turpin's History was first printed among the German. rer. Quatuor. Frankf. 1566. The Count de Caylus says there were 13 MSS. of this book in the king of France's library. He adds a remarkable fact, That the one which appears the most ancient of these, N°5943. B. makes no mention of the battle of Roncevalles, nor of the death of Roland, but ends with Charlemagne's return to France. He adds this reasonable question, "May we not conclude that this is the original, and the others (the common ones) the amplifications of this?" Hist. Acad. Inscript. 11. p. 414.

[73] That it existed before 1170, appears from its having been inserted in a Life of Charlemagne, composed about that time. But the Latin copy of it is said to have been kept at St. Denis since 1160. This carries us somewhat higher. The poem, in the Vatican, of Rodulfe Tortaire, who lived in our Henry the first's time, mentions Roland and his sword—

Ingreditur patrium gressu properante cabiculum,
Diripit a clavo, clamque patris gladium.
Rutlandi fuit iste, viri virtute potentis
Quem patruus magnus Karolus huic dederat,
Et Rutlandus eo semper pugnare solebat,
Millia pagani multa necans populi.

This quotation places the story of Roland, if not the book of Turpin, before 1135, when our Henry I. died. See Abbé le Bœuf's dissertation in 10 Hist. Acad. Inscrip. p. 245.

He

conjectured to be the work of a Spaniard[74]: it may be so; but it has some indications of a Breton hand[75]. I cannot help suspecting that it was written in imitation of Jeffry's history. This we can ascertain to have been published certainly before 1139[76]; probably before 1129[77]. There is no roman on Charlemagne or his knights so early as this; and there is no good evidence that Turpin's history was known before this time[78].

It has been thought, from the cantilena Rolandi having been sung

He thinks it was not earlier at least than the end of the eleventh century: the assertions that place it earlier, have no warrantable evidence.

[74] Le Bœuf, Ib. p. 253.—It is accordant with this supposition, that Geoffroi of the Limousin, in 1200, procured a copy of this book from Spain, as a work unknown in his country, and full of details scarcely known in the songs of the jongleurs. Ib. p. 246.—The prose MS. life of Charlemagne in the British Museum, Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11. begins with saying, that those who wish, may oir la verite de Espane sulunc le latin del estoire, &c. That the Spaniards had traditions about Charlemagne, we learn from Roderic Toletanus. He rejects the accounts of Charlemagne's victories in Spain, as fables; but he mentions, without discrediting it, the tale of his banishment by his father Pepin, his asylum with Galafer, the Arab king of Toledo, and the marriage of this king's daughter. Rod. Tol. l. 4. c. 11.

[75] See M. Leyden's Complaynt of Scotland, Dissert. p. 263. and Mr. Ellis's remarks, 2 Spec. Romances, p. 287.

[76] In this year, Henry of Huntingdon says he saw it in the Abbey of Bec. See his Letter to Warinus, Harl. MS. N° 1018.

[77] I ground this date upon the following reasoning. Alured of Beverley ends his history in the twenty-ninth year of Henry I. and in his proemium says, he carries it down to the twenty-eighth year; and that he wrote it in the days of his silence, when by a decree of the council of London he ceased from his sacerdotal functions invitus, and among many excommunicated. This exactly suits the twenty-ninth year of Henry I. or 1129, when the council held at London suspended all married archdeacons and priests. He says, that his great object in writing his history, was to give an account of the Historia Britonum, then so exceedingly popular; that he had searched carefully for this history, which contained things that no other historian had mentioned; that he had found it, and given the substance of it. This is a neat abridgment of Jeffry's History. So that on this reasoning, Jeffry's work must have appeared at least in 1128.

[78] Tortaire was contemporary with Henry I. But our Henry lived till 1135, and the seven years interval between 1128 and 1135, are enough for the composition of the Turpin. So that there is still no contemporary evidence that Turpin preceded Jeffry.—The statements of Gryphiander and Gui Allard, that it was written in 1095, or in 1092, are the conjectures of later ages.—I have met with no authority for M. Leyden's intimation, that it was declared to be genuine by papal authority, in 1122, which would decide the question between this book and Jeffry.

sung as the battle of Hastings[79] was about to begin, that some ballad or roman on Roland, one of the warriors of Charlemagne, existed at the æra of the Norman conquest. It seems to me that the person of this Rolandi has here been misconceived, and that the Rollo[80] of the Normans has been mistaken for the Roland of romance[81]. But the evidence of Wace, though it is not sufficient to identify the Roland of Charlemagne with the subject of the Norman minstrels song, is yet complete to prove that songs or poems on Roland Oliver and the twelve peers of Charlemagne existed when he wrote the passage in 1155. The prose roman of Charlemagne, taken avowedly from Turpin, dates itself in 1200[82]. The rhimed romans on the same subject seem to have preceded this date[83]. And if Turpin appeared after Jeffry, that is, after 1129, romans may have been composed on Charlemagne between that date and 1155.

The

[79] Malmsbury's words are, tunc cantilena Rollandi inchoata, that the warlike example of this man might excite them to the conflict. p. 101.—It would seem from these expressions, that the cantilena Rollandi was a Norman war-song, which William ordered to be sung, to inflame the courage of his soldiers. But a roman or ballad on Roland, who had fallen in battle in Spain, and of whom William's soldiers knew nothing, was not likely to have this effect.

[80] The example of Rollo, who by an invasion of France, like William's of England, had conquered a ducal crown, was a fit topic of martial encouragement; and accordingly Huntingdon makes it one of the points of William's address to his army. p. 368. But it may be asked, Why should Rollo be called Rolandi?—To this I would answer, that Rollo was sometimes so called. The Chronicon of Wikes so names him: "Willielmus Lung espeye filii *Rolandi* qui fuit primus dux Normannorum." Gale's Script. Angl. vol. 2. p. 22.

[81] It was Wace who has led into this mistake; he says, in the passage often quoted,

Taillifer qui mult bien chantout
Sor un cheval qi tost alout
Devant le duc alout chantant
De Karlemaigne e de Rollant
E d' Oliver e des vassalls
Qi morurent en Roncevalz. B.R.4. c. 11.

[82] The MS. of it in the British Museum says, "Rainald de Boloine—la fist en romanz translater del Latin a duze cens ans del incarnation. MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11. It mentions that Rainald wished it to be written without rhime, as if rhimed romans on the same subject were then extant.

[83] Two of these are in the British Museum, MS. Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. One beginning,

Or entendez seigneurs que dieu vous benie
Le glorieulx de ciel le filz saincte Marie.

The other opening with,

Plaise vous ecouter bonne chancon vaillant
De Charlemaine le riche roy puissant.

Mr. Ellis's specimens of the romans relating to Charlemagne, will give the reader a satisfactory knowledge of their leading fables.

Romances on Alexander.

The story of Alexander about the same time began to interest the poetical and lettered clergy, who were the prolific authors of these ancient romances. Some wrote on it impressively in Latin[84], and others in Romanz or ancient French[85]. But as this has no particular connexion with Anglo-Norman poetry, it is unnecessary to pursue this branch of the inquiry[86]. Nor have we any necessity of noticing in detail the other Trouveurs, or composers of romans, who flourished in the end of the twelfth century[87]. It is sufficient to remark, that the earliest romans we have, were written between the end of the reign of our Henry I. and the accession of our John; and that some of them were either composed by Anglo-Normans, or by authors who visited the court of the Anglo-Norman sovereigns. The taste for fictitious narrations, which began in the twelfth century, continued through the next, and was cherished by Henry III.[88] But they soon became distinguished from real history,

[84] Gualter de Castellione wrote the Alexandreis, a poem in ten books, each beginning with a letter of the name of Guillermus, to whom he addressed it, and who was archbishop of Rheims between 1176 and 1201. It was in such request in 1280, that the reading of the classical poets was neglected for it. Fabricius Bib. Med. Lat. 7. p. 328.

[85] See these mentioned by Fauchet des Poet. Franc.—One of the authors, Lambert li Cors, calls himself un clers de Chasteaudun. p. 83. But on this subject see Mr. Weber's Metrical Romances. His first volume contains the English romance of Kyng Alisaunder. His introduction and notes deserve perusal; and his undertaking, applause and countenance.

[86] Of the Roman de Florimon, one of those connected with Alexander, and written by Aymon de Chatillon, the MS. in the Harleian Library, N° 3983. is clearly the same which M. Galland inspected at Paris, in the library of M. Foucault, and which he describes as un peu effacé. 3 Mem. Ac. Ins. p. 479. He mentions the date of the composition as 1180 in another copy. I think this the true date. The Harleian MS. has 1124 in figures: this was probably the transcriber's mistaking quatre vingt for 24, when he transferred it into figures.

[87] As Chretien de Troyes—Raoul de Beauvais, &c. On these, M. Galland, Mr. Ritson, and Mr. Ellis, will give much information.—The roman of Guy of Warwick is in French prose, in the Bib. Reg. 15. E 6. and in rhimed French verse, 8. F 9. Hearne has printed the account of Guy of Warwick, as told by Girard Cornubiensis, at the end of his Chronicon of Dunstaple. The story is also in Knyghton, 2324.

[88] See note at the end of this chapter.

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history, and were pursued as a distinct species of composition [89].

Marie's Lays.

The most interesting of all the Anglo-Norman fictitious poetry, are the Lays of Marie [90]. As taken from Breton tales, which she repeatedly declares, they are extremely curious. As compositions, they are more pleasing in their incidents and mode of narration, and for their conciseness, than any of the endless stories of the learned romans [91]. They prove that fairy-tales were prevalent in Bretagne. And as no particular connexion is recorded to have subsisted between that country and Arabia; and as its Welsh ancestors have an original poetry and tales of their own [92]; and the known druidical doctrine of transmigration, that appears so copiously in the poems of Taliesin, is much connected with the notion of personal transformation [93]; the origin of the Breton romances may be more rationally sought for in the British Island, than in Saracen Spain, or the distant East.

Lives of Saints in verse.

Besides the two descriptions of the Anglo-Norman poetry already noticed, the history and the romance, the clergy also wrote

[89] Thus Chardre declares, that in the life of his Saint he will not trover in fables, and alludes to some romans as such—

Ne voil pas en fables trover—
Ne ja sachez ne parlerum
Ne de Tristram ne de Galerum
Ne de Renard ne de Hersente
Ne voil pas mettre mentente.
MS. Calig. A 9.

So Denis Piramus says of the Parthenope—

Si dist il bien de cele matiere
Cum de fable e de menceonge
La matire resemble suonge.

On the same ground he depreciates Marie's Lays—

Ke ne sunt pas de tut verais.
MS. Dom. A 11.

[90] Her work is in the British Museum, Harl. MS. N° 978. M. de la Rue, who first recommended them to our notice, has given a copious Memoir upon them in the Archæologia, vol. 13. p. 36—67.

[91] This will appear to every English reader who consults the complete and impressive analysis of them, which Mr. Ellis has given in his Specimens of Antient Romances, vol. 1. p. 137—190.

[92] These tales are called in Welsh, Mabinogion, of which there is an ample collection in the Red Book of Hergest.

[93] Taliesin delights in talking of his former appearances in the shapes of different animals. See Vindication of the ancient British Poems, p. 236.

wrote in verse the Lives of Saints, and moral treatises[93]. Their rhimed biography, however, added nothing to the national poetry, although one of them, Denis Piramus did, unheeded, to the national history[94]. In their moral treatises in verse, a greater approach to poetry was exhibited. The poem of Bishop Grosteste was at-least an allegory with some effort at description[95]; and the stories introduced by Wadigton, in his Manuel des Peches[96], are occasionally told with traits that show a few of the first faint gleams of poetical feeling. There are some other poems of the Anglo-Normans not unworthy the notice of the curious antiquary[97].

The

[93] As Guerne's Life of Thomas à Becket. It contains about 6000 lines, in stanzas of five lines of the Alexandrine cast, rhiming together, which he thus describes—

Le vers est dune rime en cinc clauses cuplez
E bons est mes langages e en france fui nez.
MS. Harl. 270.

Chardre's S^t Josaphat and the Seven Sleepers, comprizes between four and five thousand lines. He mentions the preference given to the romans of fiction—

Ke plus-tost orrium chanter
de Roulant e de Olivier
e les batailles des duze peres.
MS. Cott. Calig. A 9.

See M. de la Rue's Dissertation, Archæologia, vol. 13. p. 234.—We see how anxiously these rhimers sought for reputation, in Chermans, who wrote la Genesis de S^t Marie. He takes care to say—

Jeo ay a noum Chermans, ne ubliez mye mon noun.—MS. Harl. N° 270.

[94] His work is called the Life of S^t Edmund. It is in fact a rhimed excursive history of East Anglia. But it is remarkable for giving a truer account of Ragnar Lodbrog, the Danish sea-king, than any of the Saxon Chroniclers furnish. It makes him, as he was, a powerful and cruel pirate, renowned for his exploits on many a shore, and declares Inguar, Hubba, and Biorn, to have been his children.—MS. Cott. Domit. A 11.

[95] It is in the Harl. MS. N° 1121. After treating of Paradise and the fall of man, it begins a strange allegory, with the account of a king, who had a son and four daughters: the son was our Saviour; the daughters were Mercy, Truth, Justice, and Peace. The son enters a castle "bel et grant;" and the poet occupies two long columns in describing it. This castle was the Virgin Mary!

[96] This very curious work is in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. N° 4657 & 337. He thus names himself—

De dei seit beneit chescun hom
Ky prie pour Wilham de Wadigton.

[97] In the MS. containing Chardre's work, is a dialogue between youth and age, entitled Le Petit Plet, containing about 1800 rhimed lines.—The anonymous continuation of the Brut of Wace, contains the remarkable fancy of the council held by the conqueror to determine the dispositions of his three sons. See La Rue's Dissert. 13. p. 242.—Among the Harliean MSS. is the poem called "Le Sermun de Guichart de Beau lieu"—and another

The character of the Anglo-Norman poetry, from its happy consequences to our taste and intellect, merits a distinct contemplation.

Style of the Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The verbal style of the Anglo-Saxon poetry was the arrangement of their words into short lines, with a simple cadence without rhime, and with some alliteration. Omissions of their particles, and forced inversions, were also used. This form was not a very valuable style of poetical diction, except that it was perhaps the parent of our Miltonic blank verse; but it was at least harmless. This epithet however cannot be justly applied to the mental character of their poetry; that was of a vicious cast. It consisted, wherever it departed from prose, of abrupt transitions, ambitious metaphors, and repeated periphrasis.

Its great defects.

From these peculiarities arose a barbarous species of poetry, which it was impossible even for genius to improve. The inversions and transitions occasioned perpetual obscurity, and, in conjunction with their violent metaphors, precluded the presence of nature or elegance, feeling or beauty. The metaphor and the periphrasis could be exalted only into extravagancies and absurdity. The more their genius laboured to excel in this savage dress, it became but the more fantastic; in striving to be original, it could only commit more daring outrages on language and common sense. This effect appears in the poems of the Northern scalds, who continued the Saxon style after the Anglo-Saxons had abandoned it; and it must be obvious to every one, that when poets had to struggle with each other to express objects so common and so hackneyed, as ships and heroes, kings and swords, by new metaphors

another poem, of moral precepts, by Helis de Quincestre (Winchester) which he says he takes from Cato—

Ki vult saveir la faitement
Ke Katun a sun fiz prent
Sen Latin nel set entendre
Ci le pot en romanz aprendre.—MS.

The reader who wishes to enlarge his knowledge of the history of ancient romance, will be gratified by the important work lately published, entitled "Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, from the earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances."

phors or periphrasis, the more active their fancy, the more unnatural must have been its creations. In this strange competition, ships were not only called—the keels that ride the surge, the ploughers of the ocean, the chariots of the waves, and the floating pines—which are strong, yet perhaps allowable phrases; but by these poets they are also styled—the wooden coursers of Gestils, the sky-blue doves, the snorting steeds adorned with ruddy gold, the monsters of the deep[98]—which are in the worst taste of uncultivated imagination. To call the sword a blue serpent, and arrows the southern flies boiling up from the caverns of the quivers[99], are extravagancies of absurdity which may indeed be paralleled in the modern Persian[100] literature, but which European taste has long learnt to disavow.

Its decline.

The Norman conquest, which introduced not only a new sovereign, but also a new race of landed proprietors, into England, of foreign language and with foreign manners, abolished this bloated style. The Anglo-Saxon harpers were unintelligible to the Norman barons[101], and were therefore banished from the halls of the great, and the court of the prince; and with them their Anglo-Saxon poetry disappeared. How fortunate an event this was to the real improvement of the English mind, will be felt by all who take the trouble to study the specimens of the loftier species of

[98] See the Hrafns Malom, or Raven's Ode, of Sturla, on Hacon's expeditions against Scotland, published with a Translation, by the Rev. J. Johnstone, 1782.—In other Northern poems, ships are called, a crane, a serpent, the ravens of the harbour, the wooden oxen, the oxen of the bays; and wounding another is expressed as sprinkling the tongue of the wolves. So shields are termed, the clouds of battle; gold, the earth of the serpent; and the sea, the belt of the Islands. See Snorre's Heimskringla.

[99] Our Ethelred, in his De Bello Standards, has this violent metaphor, 1 Decem Script. p. 345.

[100] Einaut Ollah, in his Tales, has carried this style of poetry to that happy excess which ensures its own destruction.

[101] Ingulf says, that the Normans so abhorred the English speech, that even their grammar was taught to the boys in the schools Gallice, not Anglice. p. 71.

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of the Anglo-Saxon poetry, which we have in Beowulf, and the usual poems of the Northern scalds. Such is the obscurity and peculiarity of the poem of Beowulf, that no industry would now suffice to make it completely intelligible.

The intercourse between Normandy and Denmark diminished, as the power of the French monarchy became attenuated among its feudal lords. The Normans, enjoying their national independence secure from foreign insult, had no occasion for further aids of their rude kinsmen in the North. Hence their domestic connexions with Scandinavia had so completely ceased in the eleventh century, that their language retained scarcely a vestige of their northern origin. Of course the poetry of the scalds became unfashionable and unpopular in Normandy, when it was no longer intelligible. It would need as much translation as the Anglo-Saxon; and it had no attractions, when translated, that could be put into competition with the minstrels of Provence or Bretagne.

The simpler character of the Anglo-Norman poetry.

These minstrels came with one quality that had an irresistible effect on a people beginning its mental cultivation; and this was their easy intelligibility. No poetry could be more humble in its kind, than the popular lays of the minstrel, and the larger effusions of his clerical rivals, as far as we can judge from their few remains and abundant imitators. As compositions, their chief merit was that plain simplicity, which, to the low state of the common intellect of society in their days, was found the most popular. As poetry, it had but one characterestic, which may be expressed in one word—rhime. Rhime was the great distinction between the prose and poetry of the vernacular language of Normandy, in the twelfth century; and for a considerable interval, it had nothing else to boast of. The use of this peculiarity by the Anglo-Normans, unquestionably arose from its prevalence in the vulgar

vulgar poetry of their neighbours the Franks, the Bretons, and the Provençals[102].

Facility of its rhime.

No circumstance could have been more auspicious to the rise of true poetry in England, than to have had in its infant state such a simple and yet marking characteristic. The first Anglo-Norman verses were so completely dull and barren prose, that, if they had not possessed this distinguishing feature, it is hard to conceive how their poetry could have obtained a separate growth and peculiar cultivation; yet such was the rude and feeble state of the public mind, that if the characteristic of its poetry had been a laborious difficulty, it would have made no progress, nor attracted imitation. In all the arts and sciences, many of all classes must be tempted to study, judge, and practise them, before excellence can be formed; before the chance occurs, of genius being possessed by some of the cultivators. But from the abundant consonancies which all languages retain, rhime is a form of composition as easy of practice as it is a marking feature. It is a light and pliable fetter, which genius may play with as it pleases. It was so trifling a restraint to our literary ancestors, that they composed in it works which in their length might daunt even a Sir Richard Blackmore. Wace has left us ten poems in Norman French, of which one alone contains 12,000 verses[103]; and his contemporary Beneoit has bequeathed to us two historical poems that present us with at least 60,000

[102] The Troubadours contributed somewhat to the sudden rise of the Anglo-Norman poetry; for two of its earliest versifiers, Sanson and Wace, mention two of their favourite compositions, the Tençon and the Serventeis: Thus Sanson—

Ki eue lait corre e purer
Chef de tencons le oi nomer
Cil ki sa lange ne refreine
Lait eue aler de boche pleine
E ki sa boche ne refreine
De tencons est chief e fontaine
MS. Harl. No. 4388.

And Wace—

Mais ore puis jeo leinges penser
Livres escrire e translater
Faire rumanz e serventeis
Tant truverai tant seit curteis.
MS. Bib. Reg. 4. c. 11.

[103] His Brut, Bib. Reg. 13. A 21.—His poem on the History of Normandy, Bib. Reg. 4 c. 11. is much longer.

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60,000 rhimes[104]. Gaimar emulates this fertility; and many other of the estories and romans are as prolific[105]. Even the Latin language, with all its march of dignity, was found to be so ductile to this popular beauty, that Bernard de Cluny, in the twelfth century, composed a Latin poem in 3,000 verses, rhiming in the middle and at the end[106]; and the work of Friar Amand, entitled, Speculum humanæ Salvationis, consists of above 5,000 Latin rhimes[107]. Nothing therefore seems to have been easier than to write in rhime, especially when nothing else was aimed at.

Its advantage to English poetry.

The great benefit produced by the naturalization of rhime in our national poetry, was the abolition of the affectations and distortions of the Anglo-Saxon style, and the introduction of the artless language of nature and perspicuity. The homely verses of our Anglo-Norman forefathers established a taste for simplicity and intelligibility, and framed a poetical diction, that permitted the heart to speak its feelings without restraint. No mental revolution could have been more beneficial. Without simplicity and perspicuity, no poetry is genuine, no genius impressive; with these essential requisites, every true grace and beauty, the most moving pathos, and the most elevating sublimity, may be happily combined. Hence, although, by having little else than rhime, our vernacular

[104] The Harl. MS. No. 1717, on Normandy, contains about 45,000 lines; and the MS. No. 4482, on Troy, about 15,000.

[105] The roman entitled Les gestes de Garin, Bib. Reg. 20. B 19. contains above 25,000 rhimed lines. It resembles some of the Welsh poetry, in continuing the same rhime for many lines together. Thus 25 lines end in *ie*—followed by 18 in *on*—and 31 in *er*. Its metrical form may be seen from six lines:

Bene chancon plest vos que je vos die
De haute estoire e de grant baronie
Meilleur ne puet estre dite noie—
A Saint Denis en la mestre Abbaie
Trouvon escrit de ce ne doute mie
Dedans un livre de grant entesorie.

And see the Roman de Florimont, and indeed all the rhimed romances—they are all emulously wearisome in length.

[106] De contemptu mundi, dedicated to Peter, Abbot of Clugny, about 1125. Fauchet, p. 66.

[107] Harleian MS. No. 26. and Cotton MS. Vesp. E 1. The last gives the author's name.—The Speculum Stultorum, MS. Titus, A 20. has nearly 4,000 lines rhiming in the middle; and all Walter Mapes' Latin poems are rhimed apparently with great ease.

vernacular poetry was born in its humblest state, yet it thereby appeared the true child of nature. It has since grown to strength and beauty, as the national civilization has advanced. Every generation has seen it disclose new charms, and acquire new excellencies, till it has attained to such majesty, such universality, such richness, such energy, and such polish, that the nation has yet to appear, to whose superiority the genius of English poetry must do homage[108].

[108] As some of the prose romances are stated, by their authors or transcribers, to have been written for our king Henry III. I have begged Mr. Douce to favour me with the colophons to some of his Romances, especially as they also make the celebrated Walter Mapes one of their compilers. From his transcript of the colophons, I take the following circumstances. The second part of the S^t^ Graal, MS. Bib. Reg. 14. E 3. says these adventures "furent mises en escrit et gardees en l'abeie de Salesbieres dont maistres Gautiers Map traist a faire son livre del S^t^ Graal pour l'amour del roi Henri sen seigneur qi fist l'estoire translater de Latin en franchois."—So the MS. Tristan, Bib. Reg. 20. D 2.—The MS. Mort d' Artur of Mr. Douce, gives not only the San Graal, but also l'Estoire de Lancelot, to Mapes. In Mr. Douce's MS. Mort de Tristan, the author ascribes his work to the request of li rois Henri 3. d'Angleterre. He calls himself Helies de Borron, and mentions Messrs. Lucez and Robert de Baron as writing on these subjects, and Gautier Maz qui fist le propre livre de Lancelot. In the prologue to the first edition of Tristan, the author says, "Je Luce Chevalier Seigneur du Chateau de Gast, voisin prochain de Salesbieres en Angleterre ay voulu rediger," &c.—In the romance of Meliadus de Leonnois, its author, Rusticien de Pise, speaks of finishing (I presume in prose) le livre du Brut, and that Henry was charmed with it. He says Luces de Jau began to translate a part of the Tristran into French; that Gasses le blonc qui estoit parent au roi Henry afterwards took it up; and after him, Gautier Map; qui fu chevalier le roy et devisa l'hystoire de Lancelot du Lac; that Robert de Borron applied to it, et Helye de Borron par la Priere du dit Robert de Borron. He mentions again his Brut—He expatiates again on the pleasure Henry took in these works; he invites poor as well as rich to read them; and declares he found them in Latin. He says, he sees that les plus sages et les plus prisez d'Angleterre sont ardans et desirans to hear these deeds, and that Henry had given him deux beaulx chasteaulx. He asks what name he shall give his book, and he adds, such as shall please King Henry, who desired, that as it was to treat on courtesy, it might begin with Palamedes, than whom there was nul plus courtois chevalier.—The romance of Giron le courtois, the same author, Rusticiens de Puise, says he compiled from the book of his lord Edward I. when he went to Palestine. —The above is probably all we can now know of the authors or translators of the prose romances.—The MS. prose Romans of the late duke of Roxbrough contained similar colophons.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. V.

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ARABIAN SCIENCES INTO ENGLAND.

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Combined causes of the English improvement.

WHILE the vernacular literature of the Anglo-Normans was thus slowly advancing from rhimed chronicles to rhimed romances, and, by deviating into the romances in prose, began to form a prose style of narrative composition, which must have improved the phrase of the conversation of the day, and have gradually increased the power of expressing the new associations and distinctions of thought that were every where arising in the minds of the studious; three important mines of intellectual wealth were opened in England and Europe, principally by Arabian scholars, or by those who acquired and cultivated their attainments. These were—the scholastic philosophy, which revived that activity of mind which the Grecian vanity had so much abused, and the gross habits of the Romans had so long paralysed—those mathematical sciences, which the Grecians had imported from Alexandria, and had forgotten—and that natural and experimental knowledge, which neither Greeks nor Romans had ever valued or pursued. Without these essential additions to the English intellect, the

the vernacular literature would have profited little, because it had nothing but vague feelings, yet uncultivated, and rude estories, unsifted from fable, and rarely connected with moral instruction, to impart. The great national improvement that soon became discernible in England after the twelfth century, arose from the combined operation of the scholastic vigour and penetration of thought, of the sublime deductions and unerring reasoning of the mathematical sciences, and of the stream of knowledge, perpetually enlarging, that began to pour into the world from natural and experimental philosophy. The crusades, and the commerce which they made necessary, added largely to our geographical information. The busy intermingling of the most active minds of all the nations and habits of Europe, in the Palestine expeditions; and the dangers, suffering, vicissitudes and romantic adventures, which were every day occurring in their prosecution; roused the human sensibilities into perpetual activity, and put them under perpetual discipline. From all these sources of improvement, the general tone of social mind was enriched and enlivened, and the vernacular languages polished, strengthened, enlarged, and exercised. The rhiming and prose literature already alluded to, first made the vernacular languages fitted for the use of the expanding mind of the day; and when the knowledge from all the channels we have noticed, began to flow around, cultivated individuals appeared every where ready to imbibe, and ambitious to increase it. Mental originality, increasing judgment, refining taste, and critical moral feeling, emerged with augmented frequency in every succeeding age; and have impressed upon the English nation that love of truth, science, reason, and sensibility, which has made our intellectual progress unintermitted, and is rapidly educating human nature to powers, knowledge, and virtues, which may cause its future history to be some atonement for its former degradation and abuse.

To

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Apparent destruction of literature.

To put the human mind into this position, from its state of poverty and debility in the fourth century, it was necessary to destroy that literary taste for sophistry and rhetoric, for contentious theology and vapid declamation, which had enslaved it so long. But to keep the Gothic nations, in the ductile period of their ignorance, from the fascinations of the vain philosophy and elegant but corrupting mythology of Greece, and yet to convey to them the mathematical sciences of its Egyptian colony; to abolish the profligate system of Roman manners, the enervating despotism of the Roman government, and its oratorical cast of mind and forms of education; and yet to benefit society by that perfect taste, solid judgment, and manly style of thought, which the best Roman classics contain; were effects so incompatible and opposing, that reason might have despaired of the possibility of their production. These contrary events, however, have occurred; and it is a worthy employment of the human intellect, to consider the means by which, in the very hour of its apparent destruction, its effective reformation was commenced and ensured.

The æra of its reformation.

The demolition of the Roman empire by the Gothic tribes ended that state of manners and literature, whose pernicious tendencies have been stated. The various attempts of the different Gothic nations to revive the study of the Roman literature, which would have renovated the evil from which it was become necessary to liberate mankind, signally failed. In Italy, the irruptions of the fierce Lombards, employed and invited by the generals of Rome[1], and made triumphant by its incurable vices[2], spread every

[1] We learn from the Lombard historian, Paulus Diaconus, that Narses, preparing to attack Totila, the king of the Goths, who had retaken Rome, invited the assistance of the Lombards. Their sovereign Alboin, sent a chosen body, who, after the defeat of the Goths, returned to their national settlements in Hungary. De Gest. Langob. l. 2. c. 1.

[2] Narses released Rome from the Gothic dominion, and also repressed the Huns. His reward for these services, more decisively beneficial to the Romans than even those of Belisarius,

every where that havoc and desolation, which extirpated the Roman manners, letters and language, from their parent soil[3]. In England, the barbarous Northmen pursued the civilizing Anglo-Saxons and the Franks; and the merciless Huns, the German nations; when these several peoples began to derive their mental education from the Roman literature. Rather than that this should be re-established, it was better that the intellect of the European nations should for a season lie wholly fallow, visited only by the dews of heaven, and agitated by the tempests of their stormy life, till the time should arrive, in which a superior vegetation could from other sources be introduced.

But it was necessary to raise somewhere this superior vegetation, from which society was to derive a new intellectual life—knowledge, new empires—and human happiness, new hopes.

Progress of the conquering Arabs.

At the very period when the Lombards were destroying the last vestiges of the Roman empire[4], an obscure people, little known before, was raised to sudden greatness from a corner of Asia, to perform the same work of destructive conquest, but with more beneficial consequences, in the Eastern or Grecian empire. The Arabians in the seventh century overran Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Africa, and in the next age, Spain, with that facility which can only be explained by the superiority of mental energy and the hardy

Belisarius, was their base and invidious applications to the court of Constantinople for his removal. In revenge, he is stated to have urged the Lombards to invade Italy. Paul. Diac. l. 2. c. 5. If his avarice occasioned his unpopularity (4 Gibb. p. 427.) and his treason the Lombard irruptions, the vices of the greatest man of his day are but a stronger exhibition of Roman depravity.

[3] See before, page 4.—Tiraboschi, and his pleasing abridger Landi, as well as Muratori, paint forcibly the devastations of the Lombards; and yet so thoroughly spoilt had the Italian population been, that in the tenth century, Ratherius describes them as peculiarly profligate, as using incentives to make themselves so, continually drinking wine, and neglecting education. Murat. Ant. It. 832. Some of the Popes of this century, and their patronesses, harmonize with this political description. Even Baronius, who can varnish most things plausibly, abandons these in despair.

[4] In 568, Alboin crossed the Alps, and invaded Rome. In 569, Mohammed was born.

hardy virtues over moral debility and corruption, acting in the execution of the divine will. The literature of the Greeks, their proud and turbulent hierarchy, their civil and religious factions, their polemical theology, and unprincipled manners, expired wherever the Mussulmen triumphed. To human eyes, the alarming revolution seemed the annihilation of knowledge, and the establishment of ignorance and imposture in the government of the world. It was indeed a period of severe discipline and distress; but it emancipated Christianity from the bondage, feuds and perversions, that were destroying it. It uprooted the effeminate vices, that would have made the continuance of the Greek empire a perpetuity of degeneracy. It was a temporary swoon, from which the mind awakened with new powers, and soared to brighter regions.

Their utilities and virtues.

The intellectual and moral benefits of the temporary predominance of the Arabian fanatics, were durable and manifest. It abolished the Magian fire-worship of Persia, which the Parthian empire had been upholding, and might have established in the East. It terminated the idolatry that prevailed in many parts of Arabia and its vicinity, and even still in Syria. It obliterated the wild, ascetic superstitions of ever-dreaming Egypt; the arrogant and profligate hierarchy, and the contentious theology, of the Greeks, Christians in name, but worse than Pagans in conduct. And as its victories spread, the debased manners, the wretched polity, the corrupt jurisprudence, and the imbecile administration of the court of Constantinople, expired, by which its provinces had been long oppressed, and their population spoilt. The hardy zealots of Arabia combined their imposture and their fierceness with so much personal merit, that they edified the conquered world with new examples of virtues then almost obsolete—of temperance, frugality, love of justice[5], constancy

[5] Of the peculiar love of justice of the ancient Saracens, we have the strong testimony of a contemporary Christian chronicler: "In legalitate Saraceni, et in justitia *omnes* alias mundi *superant* nationes." Anon. Ital. ap. Murat. p. 940. Their own writers display abundant instances of the other virtues mentioned in the text.

constancy that no difficulties could repress, liberality scarcely credible, piety reverential and fervent, and an activity of practical mind so efficacious and irresistible, that their triumphs seemed half miraculous, from their rapidity and repetition. But no people that was on the earth, when the Arabians first emerged, comprized so many qualities then wanted for its improvement, as these energetic descendants of Ishmael and Joktan. They had their vices, and they headed a calamitous imposture; but the virtues in their national character, and even some of the principles of their mental errors, were then prolific of advantage to the progress of society. In the present state of man, the good of the human character cannot be had unmixed with evil. In every generation the shades are diminishing, the lights increasing; but while they are still commingled, the very instruments of human progress will only partially benefit; and all that can be done as yet seems to be, that, in every age, the nation most calculated to advance the general improvement, shall be the most predominant while its utilities continue operative. When the Arabians sprang from their secluded deserts, to triumph over the East, they obtained the successes by which the ameliorating progress of our species was then most effectually advanced. All the benefit being communicated, which their agency could impart, their triumphs ceased. The vices of their ardent temperament, fermenting with their prosperity, and the mischiefs of their false system, operating more extensively as their moral qualities declined, their political, intellectual and social utilities departed with their virtues. Competent to produce only temporary good, the empire of the Saracens was restricted to its efficacy; when it ceased to be advantageous to mankind, it was broken up; and new kingdoms, with new qualities, new tendencies, and new contemporary utilities, were raised unexpectedly to existence and to greatness, to produce and to

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undergo the new vicissitudes of influence, conquest and power, and the internal modifications and revolutions, which in succeeding time would most contribute, and which have most contributed, to meliorate the world.

Ancient literature of the Arabs.

When the Arabs emerged from their deserts, under the caliphate of Abubeker, to attack the Grecian empire, they had no literature but poetry with wild imagery and strong feeling[6], and no science; but a slight tincture of that knowledge of the stars which their pastoral observations or ancient superstitions had preserved. These scanty attainments almost perished in their fanaticism for their Koran, whose heterogeneous composition they admired so fervently, that their prophet appeared to it as a miraculous authentication of his mission, and defied men and genii to equal it[7].

Their first expeditions were as destructive to Grecian literature as to Christianity. That they burnt the Alexandrian library[8], on the decision of Omar their second caliph, that what agreed with the Koran was unnecessary, and what impugned it was pernicious, has been asserted by one historian of their transactions. For their credit, it has been wished to disbelieve the incident[9]: but that, for above a century and an half, the Saracens were wholly illiterate,

[6] Their poets were accustomed to hang up their verses on the sacred Caaba. Seven of these poems, older than Mohamed, have been translated and published by Sir William Jones, in his Moallakat. Lond. 1783. In parts, they resemble very much the Song of Solomon, especially those of Tarafa and Lebeid. The poem of Hareth has more affinity to the Proverbs. When I read these poems, I am sometimes tempted to believe that the Provençal Troubadours may have derived their first inspirations from Arabian Spain.

[7] Mohamed twice rebukes the demand of his contemporaries, for his miracles. Koran, c. 6. and c. 13. But he once boldly declared, "O ye men of Mecca!—if ye be in doubt concerning that revelation which we have sent down unto our servant, produce a chapter like unto it; and call upon your witnesses, besides God, if ye say truth. But if ye do it not, nor shall ever be able to do it, justly fear the fire, whose fuel is men and stones." c. 2.—"If men and genii were purposely assembled to produce a book like this Koran, they could not do it." c. 17.

[8] Abul Pharag. Hist. p. 114.

[9] Mr. Gibbon declared himself tempted to disbelieve it, v. 5. p. 343.

illiterate, and content to remain so; and that Grecian literature disappeared in the provinces they subdued; has not been disputed.

The Syrian Christians, whom they allowed to retain their religion, had the merit of leading them to a taste for knowledge. Much of the Grecian literature and science had been translated into Syriac[10]; a language which has so much affinity to the Arabic, as to be easily acquired by an Arabian student, and to invite him to the effort. Syrian phsyicians were about the persons of the caliphs, and by their conversation excited an intellectual curiosity in their sovereigns. Al Walid, the caliph who died in 711, ordered the Christian writers to publish no more books in Greek, but in Arabic[11]; and this attempt to improve his native language, was advanced by Almanzor, who had imbibed a taste for astronomy, and respected men of knowledge. He began that cultivation of the sciences which has so much adorned the Arab name[12]. His successor, Harun-al-Rashid, the hero of the Arabian tales, increased the progress of literature by the patronage of the throne[13]. But to Almamon, who acquired the caliphate in 813, the Saracen mind was most indebted. He spread knowledge around him with the zeal of an Alfred, almost his contemporary, and with a munificence that surpassed all competition since the days of the Ptolemies.

Their application to the sciences.

The Arabians rushed to their conquests with a new religious creed,

They neglect the classical authors.

[10] The best account we have of the Syrian Christians, and their authors, is in the Bibliotheca of Assenanni. It contains curious documents of their activity in diffusing Christianity in India, and even China, in the seventh and eighth centuries. To the first volume a catalogue of the Syrian MSS. placed in the Vatican library, by Clement XI. is added. Some Arabian poems are among them.

[11] Abul Pharag. p. 129.—He was peculiarly fond of architecture, and built many fine mosques. Abulfeda, p. 123,124.

[12] Abul Phar. p. 160.—The mathematical works of Menelaus were first translated into Syriac, and afterwards into Arabic. Casiri, Bibl. Hisp. p. 345. So were some medical works. But the Arabs soon began to translate from the Greek themselves, and their principal translations were from the Greek. Casiri, p. 239.

[13] One of the translations of Euclid into Arabic, was made in his reign. Casiri, Bib. p. 339.

creed, intolerant of all others, and with an unwearied zeal for its universal propagation. This intolerant bigotry made them equally hostile to the Grecian polemic and the pagan mythologist, and therefore precluded them from reviving any part of the Grecian or Roman literature that was connected with its theology, or that had enshrined its paganism. Hence, when their caliphs directed their ardent minds to intellectual studies, they passed by the poets, the historians, and the orators of the pagan classics, as well as the disputatious Christian fathers. From the intensity of their bigotry, influenced insensibly to themselves by a taste derived from their ancient Sabaism, they fixed their attention on those parts of Grecian knowledge—the mathematical and astronomical works, which had been composed principally at Alexandria during the bright period in the history of Egypt, which arose from the Grecian dynasty of the Ptolemies, and afterwards. Almost obsolete in Greece itself, they had never been appropriated by Rome. To the rest of the world, they were as little known as to our ancient satirist, who, in his Piers Plouhman, converts Ptolemy and the philosophers into poets[14]. But of all the subjects of Grecian knowledge, these works were the only writings that could interest an Arabian mind, because pure from all idolatrous contamination. Led, like all the East, to admire till they venerated the stars[15], the quick and piercing intellects of the Arabs, fastened on astronomy as their favourite

[14] Meny proverbis ich myghte have—
And poetes to preoven hit; Porfirie and Plato;
Aristotle, Ovidius, and ellevene hundred,
Tullius, Ptolemæus; ich can nat telle here names;
Preoven pacient poverte pryns of alle virtues.
Vis. Piers Plouhman.

[15] One of our Syrian travellers, Mr. Wood, said, he found himself in the night so struck with the beauty of the firmament, that he could hardly suppress a notion, that these bright objects were animated beings of some high order, and were shedding important influence on this earth. From this effect upon himself, he was sure that at all times the minds of men, in these countries, must have had a tendency to that species of superstition.—Dr. W. Hunter's Lecture, p. 10.

favourite study, and soon revived those geometrical sciences with which it was connected.

CHAP. V.

INTRODUCTION OF THE ARABIAN SCIENCES.

Almamon's encouragement of knowledge.

Almamon, inspired with this taste, sent to the Grecian emperor for the books of science which the Greeks had written. He collected them also from Persia, Egypt, and Syria; from Chaldea and Armenia. He inquired around him for men able to translate them; he incited his subjects to study; he pursued it himself, and was fond of being present at the discussions of the learned whom he had assembled, and whom he had patronized[16]. Perhaps no country ever witnessed such a sudden acquisition of knowledge as was produced by his exertions. In this he was more fortunate than Alfred. The efforts of our venerable king left but a faint impression upon his nation; but Almamon's example was prolific of imitators. The difference may be ascribed to the subjects of their study: Alfred had nothing but the Latin literature to impart; Almamon diffused the true sciences, to whose improvement there was no limit; whose diffusion was connected with the best interests of mankind.

Progress of the Arabians.

The Arabs pursued these sciences with an avidity and a success, which appropriated the treasures and enlarged the boundaries of all. They translated Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius Pergæus, Eutochius, Diocles, Diophantus, Hippocrates, and Ptolemy[17]. On these they commented and disserted with emulous ingenuity. The establishment of a separate caliphate in Spain, and afterwards in Morocco, created new seats of knowledge near the western regions

[16] See Abul. Pharag. 160 & 161, where he mentions the astronomers who flourished in the reign of Almamon; and see also Leo Afer de Medicis et Philosoph. Arab. c. 1. printed in Fabric. Bib. Græc. t. 13. p. 261.

[17] In Casiri's valuable Bibliotheca we have an account of the Arabic versions of Euclid, in p. 359; of Ptolemy, p. 348; of Apollonius Pergæus, p. 385; of Archimedes, p. 384; of Diocles on burning specula, Samius on spiral lines, and Eutochius on Archimedes, p. 382; of Diophantus on algebra, in p. 370; and of Menelaus, Theodosius, Autolycus, Aristarchus and Hipsycles, all Grecian mathematicians, in p. 346.

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regions of Europe, where it was zealously cultivated. It is impossible to read the long catalogues of the Arabian treatises on astronomy, optics, geometry, arithmetic, medicine, natural history and chemistry, and even on music, logic, and metaphysics, as well as on poetry and grammar, without astonishment at their unwearied assiduity and successful progress[18].

Intercourse of Christians with the Spanish Arabs.

While Europe, in the tenth century, was slumbering in that intellectual torpidity which followed the downfall of the Latin rhetorical literature, the Arabs were pursuing with ardour those scientific pursuits which were to give a new spirit of life and knowledge to the western world. Their mental fervour was made to glow peculiarly strong in that part of their dominions, Spain, which was best adapted for the improvement of Europe. In Spain, as in Syria, they permitted Christians to continue among them, on paying tribute[19], who distinguished themselves by argumentative contests with the Islam faith, which often drew down the reluctant persecution of their conquerors[20]. We find some of these Moçarabes, as they were called, even learning Arabic[21]; and after the victorious Abderrahman had established his seat of government at Cordova, Christian students went there to study[22]. The Arabs sometimes married Christian wives; and we have an instance of this sort, in which, the father dying, the mother educated her son in Christianity, and then sent him to the Arab academies to be taught

[16] The catalogue which Casiri made of the Arabian MSS. in the library of the Escurial, first gave modern Europe an adequate idea of the extent of the Saracen studies.

[19] Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, says, "Tribūtum quod lunariter solvimus." p. 217.

[20] We derive our knowledge of this fact from Eulogius. In his account of the Spanish Christians who were destroyed by the Mussulmen, and whom he calls martyrs, he states, that the Saracens declared that their martyrdom was voluntary; and it is clear, from his narrative, that they provoked the Mussulmen to discussions and resentments.

[21] Thus Eulogius describes Perfectus as learning Arabic, and as answering in Arabic when he was questioned. p. 231, 232. So he states Isaac of Cordova to have been skilled in Arabic, who perished 851. p. 235.

[22] Eulogius mentions several persons, his contemporaries, going to Cordova to study, of whom some were killed in 851. pp. 236, 237. 244. His treatise is printed in the Mag. Bib. Pat. vol. 9.

taught Arabian literature[23]. This was in the middle of the ninth century.

CHAP. V.

INTRODUCTION OF THE ARABIAN SCIENCES.

This intermixture of Spanish Christians, studying Arabic and Arabian learning, with the Mussulmen population, established an easy channel for the transfusion of Arabian science into the European mind. By degrees, many persons from other countries were attracted, by the reputation of the Spanish Mohamedans, to visit their country, to acquire their knowledge. One of the first of these intellectual Columbuses who ventured to explore what riches they possessed, and who imparted to Europe the treasures he obtained, was Gerbert, who became the Pope Sylvester II. The rumour of the sciences of the Saracens having reached his ear, he went into Spain to cultivate them[24]. Returning to France, he established schools there, taught what he had exhibited, became preceptor to the princes of France and Germany, distinguished himself for an active and independent mind[25], and is said to have recalled

Sylvester II.

[23] This was Aurelius, with whom Eulogius was well acquainted; he perished in 852. pp. 244. 246. 254. He states that the Mussulmen treated the Spanish Christians, when they appeared in public, with derision, and called them fools and madmen; that the boys daily scoffed them, and that some threw stones at them as they passed. p. 218.

[24] In his letters we see his Spanish connexions and Arabian acquisitions. He writes to Lupito of Barcelona for the book on astrologia, translated by him. 3 Bib. Mag. p. 700. He mentions the book on arithmetic, by Joseph the Spaniard, and the wise. p. 698. He says on another occasion, that he had derived great advantage from the study of philosophy, and was going to the princes of Spain. p. 706. He states that he had begun a sphere, with an horizon and a representation of the heavens. p. 731. In one important letter he seems to me to allude to the Arabian numerical arithmetic; "How should I strive to explain the reasons of the numbers of the abacus—The philosopher must not think that these things *without letters* are contrary to some art or to themselves; for what will he say esse digitos, articulos, minuta, who disdains to be auditor majorum—What, when the *same number* is now simple, now composite; now a digit (or unit), and *now is made* an articulus (or ten)?" p. 735.

[25] Baronius is compelled to admit Gerbert among the Popes, but he does it with visible reluctance. He says that no one had been promoted to the papal seat, who had so proscribed it by his writings. He gives us a specimen of what he calls the horrenda blasphemia of Gerbert. It may suprise the reader to find that this was Gerbert's assertion, that the Pope was the antichrist—the man of sin mentioned in the Thessalonians—a remarkable opinion for the year 990. The harsh

recalled into his native country, arithmetic, music, and geometry, which had become unknown[26]. Hermannus Contractus, who died 1054, was another of these ardent minds: He learnt Arabic, translated into Latin several volumes both of Arabians and Greeks, and wrote on astronomy and the quadrature of the circle[27].

Constantine Afer.

Constantine Afer had the courage to go farther. With an ardour for knowledge that has no parallel but in Pythagoras, he visited the Saracens in Asia, and passed there thirty-nine years in studying their astronomy, their medical and mathematical knowledge. He came thence to Italy, and entered the monastery at Mount Cassino in 1086, where he translated into Latin several works of the Arabian physicians[28]. The pilgrimages and crusades, so reprobated by those who have contemplated them superficially, brought the European mind to a full knowledge of the Arabian attainments; and men arose fast, in every country, emulous to learn, and benevolently assiduous to impart them.

Other Christian students of Arabic.

In the next century we find Hermannus Dalmatus studying astronomy among the Mohamedans on the Ebro and at Leon[29]. Peter,

harsh censures of Baronius were, in the same century, balanced by the zealous defence of Bzovius, a franciscan, in his Sylvester II. Romæ, 1629.

[26] Malmsbury, l. 2. p. 65. says, "he was the first who seized the abacus from the Saracens, and gave it rules which are scarcely yet understood by the toiling abacists."—His two treatises on Geometry, &c. are published by Pez, in his Thesaur. Anecdot.; and his letter on the Sphere, is in Mabillon Anecdot. His treatise de Abaco, or on Arithmetic, is yet in MS. in Ottobonia Bibliotheca. Murat. Ant. p. 981. A collection of his letters is in Mag. Bib. Pat. vol. 3.—Du Chesne, in his Hist. Franc. vol. 2. has 55 additional letters. —The pretty tale of his magical chamber, Malmsbury mentions rather seriously, p. 66.

[27] Trithemius Catal. Illust. Vir. p. 132; and see Fabricius Med. Lat. p. 708. In his book on the Astrolabe, he confesses, that whatever he had of astronomy, he had wholly borrowed it from the Arabs. Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 934. His treatise de Astrolabio is in the Bodleian library, Digby, N° 1775, and another, N° 1652.

[28] Fab. Bib. Græc. t. 13. p. 124. Trithemius de Script. p. 257.—Some MSS. of his works are in the Harl. Lib. as his Loci Comm. Med. N° 1676; his Viat. N° 3407; his Tract. Var. N° 3140.—About three years ago (in 1811) in the library of Monte Cassino, was found a Greek MS. of Apollonius Evander, the nephew of Apollonius of Rhodes, which contains a full account of the eruption of Vesuvius in the reign of Titus.

[29] The letter of Peter of Clugny to Bernard, mentions this Arabic scholar: "Hermanno quoque Dalmata acutissimi et literati ingenio

Peter, the abbot of Clugny, went into Spain, to study the Arab learning; and he shews his proficiency by his translation of the Arabian Life of Mohamed, and procuring an Englishman to translate the Koran, which he addressed to the celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux[30]. Gerard of Cremona is another name which deserves our gratitude and celebrity, for the many important Arabian works, which, by his Latin versions, he made the property of Europe[31].

English students.

England had its full share in producing these literary enthusiasts, to whom our intellectual eminence is so deeply indebted. The translation of the Koran, noticed above, was the production of Robert Retenensis, an Englishman, who went to Spain, and was found, by the abbot of Clugny, on the Ebro, studying astronomy with Hermannus[32]. He became archdeacon of Pampeluna. He translated also an Arabian chronicle[33]. The abbot of Clugny rewarded him liberally for his labours[34].

Another

ingenio scholastico."—The treatises on the Doctrine and Education of Mohamed, printed with the Koran, mentioned in the following note, are those which transtulit Hermannus Dalmata—apud Legionentem Hispaniæ civitatem. p. 201.

[30] Machumetis Alcoranum Bibliandri.—This publication contains the letter of Peter to Bernard, in which he says, that while he staid in Spain, he procured the version to be made by a scholar of Toledo: "Because the Latin was less known to him than the Arabic, he had his verba latina, impolite vel confuse plerumque," polished and arranged. Ep.

[31] The translation of Alhazen de Crepusculis, is by him. p. 283.—He died 1187, æt. 73. F. Pipinus says of him, that, led by his love of knowledge, he went to Toledo, and seeing the Arabic books, and the penury of the Latins on such subjects, he learnt the Arabian language.—There are 76 books of his translation, among which are Avicenna, and Ptolemy's Almagest. There is also his commentary on the Theoricam Planetarum. Murat. Ant. Ital. p. 936.

[32] Peter of Clugny says of Robert and Herman, "quos in Hispania circa Hiberum, astrologicæ artis studentes, inveni."—He calls him Robertus Retenensis de Anglia qui nunc Papilonensis ecclesiæ archidiaconus est." Ep.

[33] It is in the Bodleian library, Seld. Sup. 31. The translation of Alkindus is by another Robert, an Englishman, who lived in 1272. Cod. MS. Ashm. 6677.

[34] Eosque ad hæc faciendum multo precio conduxi. Pet. ep. Robert addresses his translation of the Koran to Peter, and ends his dedication thus, "Illustrissimo que Viro P. C. abbate precipiente, suus Angligena Robertus Retenensis librum istum transtulit A. D. 1143."

Athelard's Arabian treatise.

Another Englishman distinguished for his Arabian studies, was Athelard of Bath, whose work still remains in our public libraries, and has been printed[35]. He says, in his philosophical dialogue with his nephew, that he left England for the sake of study, and returned to it in the reign of Henry I. His anxiety to learn the moral and political state of his native country was suppressed by the unfavourable representation which he received of its vices. He told his nephew, that it was wise to forget what they could not remedy[36]; and he is desired to state some results of his new Arabian studies.

He reminds his nephew, that seven years before he had left him pursuing his Gallic, by which we may presume is meant Norman, studies[37], while Athelard himself went to explore the Saracen philosophy[38]. A short exordium leads him to confer on many of those points of natural knowledge which he had studied in Spain. We may smile at some of the questions on which he took the trouble of enlightening his nephew, as—why herbs do not grow from water, air, and fire, as well as from earth; why men have not horns like other animals; why we go erect; why we do not walk as soon as we are born; why our fingers are unequal, and our hand hollow; why we are nourished by milk; why the nose is placed over the mouth; whether the stars are animated, and if so, do they eat. But some of his other topics, as—the nature of the senses, the nerves and veins—the cause of earthquakes, of eclipses,

[35] Athelard's Dialogue on questiones naturales perdifficiles, is in the Cotton Lib. MS. Galba, E 4. I have two printed copies, which some former owner has marked—sine anno—duæ editiones antiquæ, Collat. et complet.—and says, "supposed by De Bure to be printed at Louvan, by J. de Westphalia, about 1474."

[36] "Unica enim malorum irrefragabilium medicina est oblivio." Athel. The evils he deplored were violentes principes; vinolentes presules; mercenarios judices; patronos inconstantes; privatos adulatores; mendaces promissores; invidiosos amicos; ambitiosos fere omnes. Athel.

[37] Meministi, nepos, septennio jam transacto, cum te in gallicis studiis pere puerum juxta laudatissimum, &c. Athel.

[38] Ut arabum studia pro posse meo scrutarer. Athel.

eclipses, and of the tides;—why the sea is salt; why the rivers do not increase it; the origin of the winds, thunder, and lightning; how the earth is sustained in air—whether brutes have souls—why joy should cause weeping; why men of genius should want memory, and those of memory, genius; and why the seat of fancy, reason, and remembrance, should be in the brain; these inquiries were the first beams of awakening curiosity after natural knowledge; and Athelard, with all the deficiencies and absurdities of his little treatise, must be looked on as the father of natural philosophy in England. He was the first herald of its approach. His books are the earliest records we have of the discussion of such subjects in this country[39]. Though not abundantly wise in all his opinions and inquiries, yet he discusses his topics with the air of a man who feels that he has burst from the swathing-bands of authority. He talks boldly of the privileges and utility of reason, and contemptuously of those who submit to slumber in a bestial credulity; a language which announces the beneficial effect of the Arabian conquests on the intellect of Europe. But, aware of the personal danger of such freedom, he guards himself, by reminding his nephew, that his opinions must be considered as those of the Arabians, and that he is pleading their cause, and not his own. The absurdity of some of his topics, and the weakness of some of his reasoning, were perhaps better adapted to tempt the absolute ignorance of the European mind, in its first rude state, to the cultivation of natural knowledge, than wiser tuition. A Newton would be the worst possible preceptor to a Laplander. There would be no point of contact between them. But a mixture of nurse-tales and philosophy, all believed to be grave and important knowledge, would fasten on the apprehension, and please the taste

[39] As he begins it with saying, "Cum in Angliam *nuper* redierim, Henrico Guillermi anglis imperante," it must have been written before 1135, when Henry I. died.

taste of an uncultivated mind far better than pure reason and science, which can only be attained by slow and painful progress. The book of Athelard may have first kindled the curiosity of Friar Bacon, though the increased knowledge of a century left no other comparison between them, than the merit of similar curiosity. But we must not do injustice to Athelard's work. It cannot have been contemptible or useless to his contemporaries, since, in the fifteenth century, in the infancy of the typographical art, it was thought worthy to be printed twice, above four hundred years after his death. Athelard's translations of Euclid, and some astronomical works from the Arabic, into Latin, are in the public libraries at Oxford[40].

Arabian studies pursued in England.

In 1185, we had a student in London capable of translating from the Arabic, the book of Ptolemy on the Astrolabe[41]. About 1190, Daniel Morley, after studying at Paris, went to Arabian Spain to learn the mathematical sciences, and studied at Toledo[42]. Some time afterwards appeared our Michael Scott, the wizard of our northern ballads, and of the elegant lay of the last Minstrel[43].

The exertions of these active minded men, and of similar adventurers,

[40] His other MSS. now remaining are, "de Philosophia Danielis," in Oriel College, Ox. N° 859; his translation of Euclid from the Arabic, in Coll. S. Trin. at Oxford, N° 1967; his Isagoge of Japhar on Astronomy, taken from the Arabic, in the Bodleian library, N° 1669; his translation of Euclid's Elements, in 15 books, from the Arabic, N° 3359, 3623; the Tables of El Kauresmi, from the Arabic, N° 4137.

[41] I learn this fact from the Catalogue of the Bodleian library, which, among the MSS. Digby, has this article, N° 1641. "Ptolemæi liber de compositione Astrolabii, translatus de Arabico in Latinum, Æra 1185, in civit. London." Cat. MSS. Angl. p. 78.

[42] His two books on Philosophy, de inferiori, and de superiori parte mundi, are in MS. in the library C. C. C. Oxford, Cod. 95. He says in it, "When I lately went from England, for the sake of study." He also wrote, de Principiis Mathematicis. Tanner Bib. 532.

[43] He was patronized by the emperor Fred. II. Muratori mentions, that in the Ambrosian library at Milan, was a treatise he wrote at the Emperor's request. Ant. It. p. 945.—The treatise of Avicenna, on Aristotle's book on Animals, was translated by him, and thus addressed to the Emperor:—"Frederick, Lord, Emperor of the world, receive favourably this book of Michael Scot, that it may be grace to thy head, and a wreath to thy neck." Avic. An. p. 29.

turers, quickly introduced Arabian learning into England. We find the Commentary of Averroes on Aristotle actually lectured upon, near Cambridge, about the close of the twelfth century[44]; and about the same period, among the books of Benedict the abbot of Peterborough, we perceive Almanzor, an Arabian book on the virtues of plants[45]. At the close of the next age, we read of an archbishop giving to his church at Peterborough, the works of Avicenna[46].

But it is in the compositions of Friar Bacon, who was born in 1214, and who learnt the Oriental languages, that we discover the most extensive acquaintance with the Arabian authors. He quotes Albumazar, Averroes, Avicenna, Alpharabius, Thabeti ben Corah, Hali, Alhacen, Alkindi, Alfraganus, and Arzachel; and seems to have been as familiar with them as with the Greek and Latin classics, especially with Avicenna, whom he calls the chieftain and prince of philosophy[47]. Bishop Greathead, the friend of Bacon, the spirited assertor of the liberties of the English church against the papal encroachments, also quotes Albumazar, Averroes, and Avicenna[48]. Thus the stream of mind from Arabia into England, and of new intellectual excellence thence arising, commencing the true improvement of the country, cannot be doubted[49].

Intellectual character of the Arabs.

The Arab philosophers were men, who combined, with an acuteness and activity of mind that has never been surpassed, all the knowledge which industry could then attain. What they knew, they

[44] Pet. Bless. contin. Ingulf, 1 Gale Script. p. 114.

[45] Hugo Candidus, ed. Speake, p. 39.

[46] Walt. Whytleseye, ed. Sp. p. 170.

[47] See his Opus Majus, edited by Jebb; and his other tracts, in various places.

[48] In his treatise de Art. Liberal. and his Commentary upon Aristotle, printed in Venice 1514, with Gwalter Burley's Commentary, who died 1337.

[49] Many translations were made from Arabic into Latin, by the Jews; who thus benefited the nations that were oppressing them, and became important instruments in diffusing that knowledge which has most advanced European civilization.

they knew thoroughly; they reasoned with subtlety, but they made their knowledge the foundation of their logic. There is a clearness, a penetration, an information, and a correctness about their reasoning, which spreads a brightness over every subject they handle. To the patient investigation of the Alexandrian mathematicians, they united the active subtlety of the Grecian sophist; but poured at the same time, from their discursive intellects, all the natural knowledge that their chemical and mineralogical researches could then supply. They refused no labour in the acquisition of knowledge or the discovery of truth; and it was this combination of mathematic, logical, and experimental mind, which so rapidly improved themselves, and from them has so highly exalted the intellect of Europe. They were true philosophers. They loved intellectual pursuits, from an intense feeling of their excellence. They believed the perfection of the human nature to rest in these, and they struggled unwearied to attain them. If they have ceased to be the intellectual teachers of the world, it has been, because they suffered their minds to be too much fettered by the Aristotelian predicaments, which often drew them into useless verbal disquisitions, and to look at nature through the spectacles of logic; and because knowledge has so greatly accumulated since their day, as to make them but children in science, to us, their more fortunate disciples. They were superior to the Greeks, by combining their logic and metaphysics with experimental philosophy; and for the nobler religious principles, which some of them infused into their reasonings[50]. The Grecian philosophers knowing few physical facts, their ingenuity wasted itself upon definitions, distinctions and refinements, that were but skirmishes of

[50] As, Alchindi's 'Quod anima sit substantia simplex et immortalis'—and 'Primi agentis, sive Dei, existentia demonstratur,' Casiri, p. 355; the quod anima sit incorporea, and de extremo judicii die, of Rasis, p. 263; Alkhatheb's book de creatione et resurrectione, p. 182; Avicenna on the soul, called his golden work, in which he maintains that it does not die with the body; and Al Gazel's works, mentioned below.

of words. The Arabs, with minds as agile as their Greek masters, happily deviating into a taste for natural knowledge, reasoned more justly, more usefully, and more intelligibly. The universality of their researches and attainments is also wonderful. We have far excelled them in every separate path of inquiry; but no man has appeared since Avicenna[51], Alchindi[52], Alpharabius[53], Al Khatib[54], Thabet ben Corah[55], or Avenpace[56], who has pursued so many subjects of investigation, and written on all with so much discernment and ability. They were literally encylopedistes.

Al Gazel's works.

Many of the works of Avicenna[57], the Commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle[58], the admirable treatises of Al Gazel, and several other of

[51] Casiri has inserted the life of Avicenna, from his Arabian biographer, in his Bibliotheca, p. 268. and the Arabian catalogue of his diversified works, p. 270. The extent of his popular celebrity may be inferred from his magical feats in the Persian and Arabian tales.

[52] The Arabian catalogue of Alchindi's works is indeed multifarious, as the heads under which they are distributed will shew—

16	treatises under	Opera Philosophica.
9	- - - - -	Logica.
11	- - - - -	Arithmetica.
8	- - - - -	Sphærica.
6	- - - - -	Musica.
17	- - - - -	Astronomica.
21	- - - - -	Geometrica.
10	- - - - -	de Orbe celesti.
22	- - - - -	Medica.
9	- - - - -	Astrologica.
11	- - - - -	Problematica.
5	- - - - -	de Anima.
11	- - - - -	Politica.
10	- - - - -	Metereologica.
7	- - - - -	Optica.
29	- - - - -	Chemica, Physica, &c.

Casiri, 353—356.

[53] See the long list of the varied works of Alpharabius, in Casiri, p. 190.

[54] Fakhereddin Ebn Alkhathib, called Alcabitius, was so rewarded by the king of Khorasan, that he left to his heirs 80,000 pieces of gold, Casiri, p. 182; who adds the Arabian catalogue of his numerous compositions.

[55] Commonly named Thebit. From the profuse list of his works, Casiri, 386—389, he seems to have discussed most subjects of philosophical inquiry.

[56] Abu Jaaffar, in the preface to his interesting Hai Ebn Yokdan, classes the first Arabian scholars in Spain as of the mathematical school. He says, "after them came a generation of men, who applied themselves more to the art of reasoning, in which they excelled all their predecessors. After these appeared others, who advanced still farther to the truth, among whom none made nearer approaches than Avenpace." p. 13.—Abu Jaaffar's work is the romance of a man bred up by a goat in a solitary place, and reasoning himself into a knowledge of the Supreme.

[57] The medical works of Avicenna fill a large folio in Latin. Medicine owes entirely to him its use of tamarinds, rhubarb, sugar, cinnamon, &c. Casiri, p. 272. His Logica, Metaphysica, &c. are printed in a separate volume.

[58] These are printed in five small quarto volumes, with the annotations of Levi Ghersonides. Short treatises of some other Arabians

of the Arabian compositions, have been printed in Latin translations, and are therefore accessible to all. Of these, I have been most impressed with the genius and reasonings of the latter[59]. Al Gazel's philosophy is of the best sort; it exhibits all the Arabian acuteness, injured only by the categories of the Peripatetic school. It aspires to establish the noble principles of the creating Deity[60], and the immortality of the human soul. When Proclus reasons, you have an obscure subtlety, a labyrinth of phrase, which at times defies comprehension, and seems worthless when understood. In Al Gazel, you see a philosopher reasoning as subtilely, but more closely than the Greek, and always with intelligible thought, and from correct facts. He is ever striving to base his reasoning on experimental truths. His work at the same time exercises and improves the understanding, and kindles an ardent curiosity for natural

Arabians are added, as Abualkasis de notificatione generis et spec.; Al Hagiag Ebn Thalmus, on the proposition de inesse et necessario; Abuhalkasim Mahmath, on the quid and propter quid; and Abuhabad, on the negative de necessario et possibile, and on the middle term. These gentlemen are as obscure as Plotinus or Aristotle, and their utility is to the full as questionable.

[59] His Logica and Philosophia are printed in one volume, Venice 1506.

[60] He concludes a chain of subtle reasoning thus—"It follows, then, that the source of all things is that which is necesse per se; which is ONE intirely; and whose being is from itself. So that HE is the true and pure Being in himself, and the origin of every other. HE therefore is perfect—and the most perfect. All things whatsoever have their existence from HIM, and the comparison of other beings to HIS Being, is as the comparison of the light of other bodies to the glory of the sun: For the sun shines by itself, and not by another illumining it. As that is the fountain of light to all lucidity, so with HIM, the first Being, are the keys of all science, and from HIM proceed the wisdom and knowledge of every thinking being. HE who is blessed for ever, knows all the possible and the contingent. Nothing is so small as to escape HIS notice. But for HIS comprehension, there is no comparison. Angels are always in the contemplation of HIS perfections, and therefore their delight has no end. From their propinquity to the Lord of Ages, their joy transcends our joy. To obey HIM, to behold HIM, to love HIM, constitutes their glory and their felicity—and when we shall be separated from this body by death, our enjoyment will be as perfect. That which is now hidden will then be revealed; our happiness will continue for ever; we shall attain to the sublimest truths, and we shall be the companions of the angels in their propinquity to the PRIMÆVAL TRUE ONE, not in locality merely, but in affection and beneficence."—This passage is taken from Al Gazel's chapter "on the Cause of Universal Being, which is Deus altissimus."

natural knowledge[61]. Some of the Arabian students in time abused their own acuteness, by supporting opinions averse from true philosophy, and incompatible with the happiness of society. These mistaken men, perverting the minds and corrupting the principles of many, excited the disapprobation of the better part of their own people, and made knowledge disreputable and suspected. The jealousy of their government, and the bigotry of their priesthood, were influenced by a perception of the mischief. Persecution followed, and their philosophy ruined itself by its abuse. Turkish barbarism despised it in the East; the brutal savageness of the Moorish temper extinguished it in Africa; and the expulsion of the Mohamedans from Spain, banished it from Europe. The love of knowledge has now wholly deserted the Mussulman mind, and we only know of what the genius of Arabia has been capable, from the dusty treasures of our libraries[62], which we, forgetful of our great benefactors, and proud of our superior affluence, never pause to examine, and rarely condescend to praise[63].

We will now proceed to consider the Scholastic Philosophy, one of our branches from the Arabian stock.

[61] Al Gazel was called by his countrymen the Imam Alalem, or the Imaum of the world—the man who practised what he taught—who of all others feared most to offend his Maker—the Doctor of the spiritual world. Being once asked how he had acquired his extraordinary knowledge, he answered, "By never having been ashamed to inquire when I was ignorant." D'Herbelot, voc. Gazali.

[62] When I observe how rich the Bodleian library is in Arabic MSS. I am surprised that no one out of its numerous students has attempted to give an intelligent history of Arabian literature and science.

[63] It may be useful to add the times in which some of the chief Arabian philosophers lived.

Albumazar	died	A.C. 894.
Alchindi	died	901.
Thabeti Ben Corah	born	835.
Rasis	died	932.
Albategnius	died	929.
Alpharabius	died	961.
Abulhassan	died	986.
Avicenna	born	979.
——	died	1036.
Al Gazel	born	1072.
——	died	1126.
Averroes	died	1217.
Avenpace	died	1155.
Alcabitius	died	1228.
Beithar	died	1248.

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. VI.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

PART II. LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE study most cultivated in England and in Europe by the more active minds in the twelfth century, was that mixture of logic and metaphysics which had characterized the Arabian philosophy, and which abounds in the works of the schoolmen.

Subjects of the Arabian philosophers.

The human mind in its various operations—the senses, and their perceptions—the causes and essences, and relations of things—intellect in the abstract; its logical exercitations—the divine nature, the future existence of the soul, and the anatomy of the organs of sense[1]—were favourite topics with the great Arabian sages. To men of their refined and acute minds, the specious works of Aristotle proved an irresistible temptation to fathom his apparent profundity, and to exercise themselves by his rules; and many Arabians

[1] Avicenna, in his treatise on the Soul, details his anatomy. He says the soul vivifies the animal from the heart. The heart is the first principle, and from that, virtues emanate to the brain; of which some perform their actions in this organ and its branches, and some proceed from it to external parts, as to the pupil and muscles of motion.—His theory of the functions of the brain, places the common sensorium in the anterior ventricles, and cogitation and memory in the two others; making the place of memory in the posterior one. Avicenna de Anima.

Arabians became his translators and commentators[2]. Their example diffused a taste for logic and for Aristotle, far beyond what Greece itself, in the highest prevalence of the Peripatetics, had ever experienced[3].

Porphyry's Isagoge.

Aristotle was first contemplated in the abstract of Boethius, and in the introduction of Porphyry. The Isagoge of the latter is a concise compendium of the system of the Stagyrite, with easy illustrations of his principal terms and definitions, and especially of his celebrated Predicaments[4]. On this work Averroes commented[5]; and his commentary was the text-book on which the Norman monks lectured at Cambridge, as we have already remarked[6]. Ingulf states himself to have studied Aristotle, and to have excelled in logic[7]. It is probable that he studied Aristotle in Porphyry or Boetius.

Rise of the Aristotelian system.

That this popular art made no one wiser, and that the questions most commonly discussed by it, were useless to every class of society, our reasonable John of Salisbury remarked[8]. Even Becket was admonished by him to avoid them[9]. And the sportive Mapes, ever

[2] The Arabian account of Aristotle's writings, quoted by Casiri, 304—308, states the principal Arab translators and commentators of the various works of Aristotle.—Buhle, in his late copious edition of Aristotle, has prefixed a short notice of the Arabian interpreters of Aristotle, vol. 1. p. 321. Bipont 1791.

[3] 'The followers of Aristotle never formed more than a sect, in Greece. The Platonists, the Epicureans, and the Academics, were far more popular. At one time his writings were nearly lost in the Roman empire.

[4] Porphyry, in his proemium to the Isagoge, professes to write it as a compendious introduction to Aristotle, abstaining from the loftier questions. It is a neat summary of Aristotle's logical system, with explanations and illustrations of his principal terms and distinctions. I have no where seen a better account of the Aristotelian system.

[5] Averroes says, that he expounds Porphyry at the request of some friends; but that, in his own opinion, this introduction was not necessary, because the great master's terms were sufficiently intelligible.—Levi Ghersonides also made his annotations; in which he remarks, that he differs from Aristotle in considering the art not to be science, but an organum to the sciences, by which the intellect may judge between the false and the true. p. 1.

[6] See before, p. 406.

[7] Ingulf. Hist. pp. 62 & 73.

[8] Metalogicus, l. 2. c. 6.

[9] See Becket Ep. l. 1. p. 47. He says, Scholaris exercitatio interdum scientiam auget ad tumorem.

ever looking around him with an eye prompt to notice the ridiculous, exhibits, with correct satire, Aristotle as beating the air, and logic as raving with agitated lips[10]. We can now have no hesitation to characterize the logical works of Aristotle, as the most laborious, the most obscure, and the most useless trifles of ancient philosophy. As the teacher of a system of verbal disputation distinct from the acquisition of knowledge, he has been singularly successful. But of his method, it has never been recorded that it has led the mind to one beneficial discovery, or established one true theory. It is merely the organization of eternal controversy. It is a moveable mechanism of words[11], whose active powers no use can exhaust, no hostility defeat. But this specious quality interested our ancestors; and we must admit that they were for a time benefited by its adoption. They had no knowledge to make a better use of, and they were surrounded by a superstition becoming tyrannical, perhaps insensibly to itself, whose tendency was to paralyze their faculties, and to extinguish judgment in slavish credulity. But the Aristotelian logic was a weapon of the busy mind, always hewing the fetters that were ever forging to confine it[12]. Though it exercised

[10] Est Aristoteles verberans aëra—
Concussis æstuat in labiis logica.
See before, pp. 413. 415.
Le Sage's description of his logical students is a good commentary on Mapes. Nos yeux etoient pleins de fureur et nos bouches ecumantes. On nous devoit plutot prendre pour des possedés que pour des philosophes.—We may learn how Mapes was estimated by his contemporaries, from an unpublished work of Giraldus. He says of him; "It is time that I should turn ad sales saporifero sapientiæ sale conditos, urbanasque reprehensiones Oxonien. Archidi. W. Mapi.—Lib. de distinc. MS. Cotton Lib. Tib. B. 13.

[11] Hugo St Victor, who died 1140, in classing philosophy under three heads, Logica, Ethica, and Theorica, while he allots to his theorica, physics and mathematics, very sensibly ascribes to logic only words—"Logica de vocibus; ethica de moribus; theorica de rebus tractat." In Spec. Eccl. ap. Bib. Mag. vol. 10. p. 1363.

[12] How sensible the zealous friends of the Romish system were of this, we may infer from Peter, the abbot Cellensis, who flourished about 1180. In his Mystica expositio, dedicated to our John of Salisbury, he says, "The Aristotelian grove is not to be planted near the altar, lest we should darken the sacraments of faith by endless and superfluous disquisitions, which are useful only to the subversion of their hearers." Bib. Mag. vol. 9. p. 919.

exercised itself on words, the exercise was freedom, the activity was health, because it educated men to think and argue; and argument was victory against political theology[13]. As Providence took care that true knowledge should pour in at the same period, Aristotle, pursued by experimental philosophy, became a master always tending to make scholars wiser than himself. His tuition certainly generated vivacity and acuteneness of intellect; and mind, thus excited, fastening afterwards on better knowledge, perceived the inanity of its former preceptor, and emancipated itself from his shackles by the very vigour which he had created. Persons were perpetually deserting the logical schools, to cultivate more satisfactory knowledge[14]; and logic, thus combined and governed by physical science, operated at last only to improve the judgment, to create a spirit of criticism, and to naturalize an independence and an activity of inquiry, which has contributed powerfully to strengthen and enlarge the British intellect.

New dialectic philosophy.

It was in the eleventh century that this new species of dialectic philosophy sprang up in vigour, and spread for two ages with unceasing popularity; and upon an attentive comparison of all the facts that can be traced as to its origin, I think that the British islands, and their Bretagne colony, may justly claim the credit of its existence in Christian Europe.

Joannes Erigena.

The man who first introduced into the West, that subtilizing spirit of logical and metaphysical reasoning on the abstract subjects of human thought, which characterize the schoolmen, was John the Irishman, usually called Joannes Scotus, or Erigena, which implies "born in Erin," or Ireland. He was the favoured literary

[13] The emphatic words of S[t] Bernard, shew the eagerness with which the new style of reasoning was received, and its important effects. "Their books fly; their darkness invades cities and castles; they pass from nation to nation, from one kingdom to another. A new gospel is fabricated for peoples and states; a new faith is proposed; a very different foundation is laid, for that which was anciently established." Abel. Epist. p. 273.

[14] See Friar Bacon, in his Opus Magus.

literary friend of two of the greatest sovereigns of modern times, Charlemagne and Alfred[15]; and in his book, De Divisione Naturæ, he has left us a curious specimen of his refined metaphysical reasoning[16]. He had derived the spirit and some of the matter from those Grecian dogmatists, who had studied theology with the eyes of Aristotle[17]; and it is in his hands, as it was in theirs, little else than a well-organized skeleton of plausible phrase. Adding to their dialetical subtleties his own refining genius, he produced an acute and elaborate work, which exercises, but rarely informs the mind[18]. It amused a few at the time of its first appearance; but it produced no immediate fruit either in England or in France. This is not to be regretted. It would but have revived those pernicious controversies from which the Arabian imposture had emancipated the world. It had also bad tendencies. It went to countenance that Pantheistic theory, which gives to Atheism a colour

[15] Hist. Angl. Sax. v. 2. p. 377—379.

[16] Anastasius said truly, in his letter to Charles, that he was astonished how such a Vir barbarus, placed in the very ends of the world, so remote from conversation with mankind, as this Irishman John was, could comprehend such things with his intellect, and transfuse them into another language so ably. He justly ascribes it to his vivacious genius, that quality in which Ireland has never been deficient.—Sed hoc operatus est ille artifex spiritus qui hunc ardentem pariter et loquentem fecit. Anast. ap. Testim, prefixed by Gale to his edition of the work.

[17] Erigena refers to the works ascribed to Dionysius Areopagita, and to Gregorius Theologus, as his sources;—and also to Maximus, whose Scholia on Gregory he translated into Latin. See them printed at the end of his own work, Oxon. 1681.

[18] Mr. Berrington has ably stated the substance of Erigena's work. "He divides it into, that which creates, and is not created; that which is created, and creates; that which is created, and doth not create; and that which neither creates nor is created."—Under these heads, he comprises all things, mixing sacred with profane, and heaping paradox on paradox; from which, however, this general doctrine is deduced, that as all things originally were contained in God, and proceeded from him into the different classes by which they are now distinguished, so shall they finally return to him, and be resolved into the source from which they came: in other words, that, as before the world was created, there was no being but God, and the causes of all things were in him, so, after the end of the world, there will be no being but God, and the causes of all things in him. This final resolution he elsewhere denominates *deification*, or, in the Greek language, which he affected to use, Θεωσις! Lit. Hist. p. 173.

colour that has seduced a Spinoza and a Toland[19], and has even found votaries among the bramins of Hindustan[20].

It has been remarked, that no heresies appeared in the tenth century. It is an observation ominous of evil to mankind. It announces a deathlike torpor of mind, fatal to human progress[21]; for, while many minds think, some will diverge into eccentricities which will benefit the rest of the world, if right, or be ridiculed and exploded, if wrong. In no age was knowledge, religion, or morals, at a lower ebb, than in the tenth. In no age can the mind be impartially exercised without some diversity from existing opinions; but wise men will always look upon those eccentricities as transitory projectiles, that, if not kept up by the force of controversy, always tend to fall out of sight and notice.

The studies imported from Spain

From the time that the sciences were cultivated by the Arabs in Spain, some of their illuminating rays began to penetrate the darkness of Europe. It has been already shewn[22], that the Spanish Christians, in the ninth century, studied at the Arab seminaries; and that in the next, French ecclesiastics went thither in search of knowledge, as Gerbert, who became Pope in 1000. In the works of the disciples of his scholar Fulbert, we may trace marks

[19] John was the author of the Vocalem, or, as it was afterwards called, the nominal and universal system, which Abelard defended.—Of this, Bayle says, "Spinozaism is but an extension of this opinion, for, according to the disciples of Scot, the universal natures are indivisibly the same in each of the individuals. The human nature of Paul is individually the same as that of Peter. Hence, Spinoza said, there is but one substance in the universe, and all that we see is a modification of it." Dict. Voc.

[20] The Bramin who conversed with M. Diemer, expressed the doctrine with a simplicity that best elucidates its absurdity. "The whole universe, is God; what now speaks in me, is God; what animates a dog, is God; and when he retires out of the dog, the dog must die immediately."—Christ. Obs. Sept. 1814.

[21] Dupin must have felt this, for in accounting for there being no heresy, after remarking that the sober people contented themselves with implicit faith, he adds—"and the profligate abandoned themselves to gross sensualities, satisfying their brutal appetites, rather than to the vices of the mind, to which only ingenious persons are liable." Eccl. Hist. Cent. 10. c.6.

[22] See before, p.478.

marks of this intercourse, in some of the illustrations of their reasoning[23]; and it is probable, that the conversation and attainments of the minds acquainted with Arab studies, excited in many others unusual curiosity and the spirit of disquisition.

Roscelin and Abelard.

The person who seems to be best entitled to the name of the father of the scholastic philosophy, was Roscelin of Bretagne.—A prelate, almost his contemporary, says, "Bretagne is full of clerks, who have acute minds, and apply them to the arts; but as to other concerns, it is fertile only of blockheads." One of these clerks was Roscelin, who, the same author says, "first in our times established the sententiam vocum[24]." He was the earliest preceptor of Abelard, also a Breton. Abelard was born about eight miles from Nantz. His father, though a knight, had imbibed so great a love for letters, that he determined to have his son well instructed in them *before* he learnt the use of arms, although his eldest child. Abelard became so attached to study, that he says of himself, he left the pomp of military glory with the prerogatives of primogeniture to his younger brother; and, preferring the dialectical art, he resolved to distinguish himself in it[25].

Abelard's life.

He rambled over various provinces, disputing wherever he heard that the study of this art flourished. He came at last to Paris, about 1100, where this new topic then chiefly prevailed. William

[23] As Adalman, in his Treatise against Berengarius, a model of benign and truly Christian controversy. Bib. Mag. vol. 3. p. 167—171. It begins very kindly:—"I have called you my collectaneum, on account of that dulcissimum contubernium, which I had with you when a youth in the academy at Chartreux, under our venerable Socrates (Fulbert.) I conjure you by those private evening conversations which he often had with us in the garden near the chapel, when he besought us with tears to keep on in the right way," &c.

[24] Otto Frisingins de Gest. Fred. c. 47. p. 433.

[25] These and the following particulars are taken from Abelard's account of himself, printed at the head of his works. It is an interesting piece of biography; and if Rousseau had read it, might have convinced him that his idea of writing his "Confessions" was not so original as he thought.

William de Champeaux was the famous teacher there[26]. Abelard became his pupil; and interested his master, though he often ventured to argue with him, and sometimes to confute him. Abelard soon became ambitious of being a preceptor himself. This intention roused the jealousy and attacks of De Champeaux. But some great patrons favouring the young aspirant, he obtained leave to open a school, which he soon transferred to Paris; his fame and scholars multiplying as those of his master decreased.

Illness brought on by excess of study, compelled him to revisit his native air. His master in the meantime had been made a bishop, and held his schools in a monastery. Abelard went to study rhetoric under him. His progress and controversies, and tuition, again excited his master's displeasure; and Abelard, on his father's turning monk, being recalled by his mother, travelled afterwards to Laon, to hear Anselm, another applauded teacher[27]. He describes him, as he might perhaps have been described himself, to have had a great flow of words, with small sense; luxuriant foliage, with but scanty fruit. But here the restless avarice of fame pursued him. He thought he could lecture on the Scriptures better than Anselm, though he says he had known nothing of them before. He attempted it, and was preferred. His new master's persecution drove him again to Paris, and he remained quietly there for some years, reading glosses on Ezekiel. He states himself to have got money here, as well as reputation, but to have become immoral[28]. His intercourse with Heloise, and its unfortunate termination,

[26] It was to him that Hildebert, bishop of Tours, addressed his first letter, congratulating him on his conversion from the secular science of the age to true philosophy, or religion. Ep. 1. So that Champeaux started like Abelard, a disputatious layman at first. He was named the Venerable Doctor.

[27] This Anselm died 1117: he was the author of a Gloss on the Old and New Testament, which has been praised and printed. There was another Anselm at the same time, an episcopus Lucensis, whose work in defence of Gregory VII. against his Antipope, is in the Bib. Mag. vol. 15. p. 724.

[28] He owns the corrupting effects of prosperity on his mind—mundana tranquillitas vigorem

termination, occurred at this period. Recovering from its disasters, and his scholars pressing him for human and philosophical reasons in support of the Trinity, he wrote a book upon it, which darkened the rest of his life with trouble and dispute. His book was burnt; he was ordered to repeat the Athanasian Creed, of which he says, "I read it, amid sighs and sobs and tears, as well as I could[29]." He was then sent to a cloister, to be confined; and afterwards obtaining leave to go into a solitude, he went into a wilderness. Scholars eagerly followed him from cities and castles, living with him there on bread and herbs, lying on straw, and making clods of earth their tables[30]. They supplied him with necessaries, they enlarged his little oratory; till at length they raised the monastery, which he called the Paraclete. His fame now spread over the whole world. He was attacked by the celebrated Saint Bernard[31], on many points. He answered him in several letters[32]. He continued an affectionate and intellectual correspondence with Heloisa, become an abbess, encouraging her good resolutions, and exhorting her to piety. His genius was so admired,

vigorem enervat animi et per carnales illecebras facile resolvit. He adds, "while I thought I was the only philosopher in the world—fræna libidini cœpi laxare, qui antea vixeram continentissime." c. 5. p. 9.

[29] Legi inter suspiria, singultus, et lacrimas, prout potui. e. 9. p. 25.

[30] Scholares cœperunt undique concurrere, et relictis civitatibus et castellis, solitudinem inhabitare, et pro delicatis cibis, herbis agrestibus et pane cibario victitare et pro mollibus stratis, culmum sibi et stramen comparare et pro mensis glebas erigere. c. 11. p. 28. Another proof of the avidity with which mankind seek intellectual improvement wherever it is to be had.

[31] Mr. Berrington's account and warm panegyric of S[t] Bernard, will be read with pleasure, 278—284. But his early life seems to have been not so active as his panegyrist describes, for his contemporary antagonist, Berengarius, says to him—"Men are surprised to find in you, who are ignorant of the liberal arts, such a flow of eloquence.—We have heard, that, from almost the first rudiments of your youth, you made mimic songs, and popular melodies: Nor do we speak from uncertain opinion. Did you not seek to conquer your brothers, in contests of rhime, and the ingenuity of acute invention?" He admits, however, that Bernard's fame had spread his writings over the world—circum quoque fama divulgat. He even adds, caput tuum nubes tangebat. Ep. Abel. p. 302.

[32] Their controversial epistles are printed in Abelard's works.

admired, his eloquence was so impressive, and his subtlety so attracting, that we find not only England and Normandy sent him scholars, but even Rome; and also Flanders, Anjou, Poitou, Gascony, Spain, Germany and Sweden[33]; so that he was really an intellectual Goliah of his day, as his sainted, but martial antagonist, aspiring to be a victorious David, denominates him[34].

His character.

It is obvious, from Abelard's own account of his life, that an ardent vanity, and an ungovernable vivacity of mind, were his prevailing qualities. That he rushed in 'where angels fear to tread,' is most true[35]. Those awful topics connected with the divine nature, which the Greeks were as fond of agitating as if they had concerned a mineral or a bird, which they could examine as they pleased, and of which they had full and visible knowledge, he was eager to discuss, and proud to revive[36]. His presumption brought again into fashion those pernicious exercises of the mind, which only end in new collocations of words, new absurdities, and new resentments. His rashness made others vindictive. He provoked persecutions, discreditable to those who used them, and always

[33] So says his friend Fulco, prior; and that no distance, no mountains, no dangers, could deter scholars from flocking to him. Ep. Ab. 218.

[34] Procedit Golias procero corpore, &c. with Arnold of Brescia for his squire.—Bernard goes on to say, that all eyes were turned upon him, to go out to meet him: Abnui tum quia puer sum; et ille vir bellator ab adolescentia. Ep. p. 275. This letter to the Pope closes with that vindictive feeling, which has disgraced so many disputants of the Romish church. He calls his opponents vulpes, and declares they should be exterminated with a strong hand. He even tells the Pope, that God made him great from a small condition, ut evellas et destruas. p. 274.—But the age was an age of violence.

[35] S[t] Bernard's letters, from 271 to 294, will shew the opinions on which he was conflicting with Abelard.

[36] The world was then so ignorant of natural philosophy, that Abelard failed to perceive the great distinction which enlightened reason will always make of the things, which we can minutely scrutinize and thoroughly understand, and those of which, although equally certain as to their existence, we shall never in this world attain particular knowledge. The nature of the Sun and Stars is, and will here remain, as unknown to us as that of the all-gracious Deity. But Abelard was anxious, de omnibus reddere rationem,

always ineffective to cure the evil they seek to remedy[37], but of which his own intemperance must be fairly considered as one of the exciting causes. We now find that these dangerous subjects on which Abelard so eagerly employed himself, have no connexion with the improvement of knowledge or the progress of society[38]. Science and literature have at last agreed to leave them to the silent and reverent meditation of the pious hour, with which the public ought never to be disturbed. But the world had not attained to this wisdom in the days of Abelard; and therefore the mighty talents of himself and his brother schoolmen were as uselessly, but less harmlessly employed, than if they had "wasted their sweetness on the desert air[39]." But his mind improved with sobering years; his final opinions are expressed with modesty, temperance, and an anxious assertion of his sincerity and good intention,

rationem, even of the things which are supra rationem; and to believe nothing which he could not ratione attingere (Ep. p. 277;) and by thus abusing a noble principle, from not justly discriminating its applicability, he consumed in vanity and vexation those talents, which, directed to the mathematical or physical sciences of the Arabians, might have advanced the march of knowledge perhaps two centuries.

[37] I remember to have heard Mr. Fox say in the House of Commons, I thought, with great truth—"I declare, I do not know how to fight opinion; but this I am sure of, that neither swords nor bayonets, racks nor dungeons, can extinguish or prevent it."—History sufficiently shews, that erroneous opinions, if left to themselves, will naturally expire as society improves. Persecution gives them vitality, activity, diffusion, and a dangerous venom, whose operations usually terminate in the destruction of the persecuting power, as well as of the persecuted individuals.

[38] Abelard could sometimes see the folly of the abuse of mind, which he certainly practised himself; for he says truly of others—Cavenda est libido rixandi, et puerilis quædam ostentatio decipiendi adversarium. Sunt enim multa, quæ appellantur sophismata, falsæ conclusiones rationum, et plerumque ita veras imitantes, ut non solum tardos, et ingeniosos etiam minus diligenter attentos decipiant. Ep. 4. p. 239.

[39] I will never apologize for persecution, because I am satisfied it is unwise as well as wicked; but I cannot wonder at it, when I read of such unprincipled egotists as Simon Churnai, a Doctor at Paris in 1201, who, having acquired great popularity and applause for an eloquent and orthodox lecture on theology and the Trinity, was so foolish as to exclaim, "O, little Jesus! how greatly have I confirmed and exalted your law.—If I had chosen to have attacked it, I could have destroyed it by much stronger reasons and objections." Matt. Paris. p. 206.

intention, which every candid reader will peruse with sympathy and respect[40].

Peter Lombard's Sentences.

The defenders of the Catholic faith, after a while decrying and attacking the disquisitive schoolmen in England, as well as on the Continent, adopted at length the wiser plan, of studying the tactics and training themselves in the camps of their antagonists. Peter Lombard, who lectured at Paris, was one of the most distinguished of these wiser friends of the existing hierarchy. He studied carefully the scholastic metaphysics; he associated his ideas by their rules, and reasons in their style. He puts most of the questions of that excited day; but he strives to answer them according to the established faith, and by organizing its authorities into the fashionable order. His "Sentences[41]," a work so popular in the middle ages, as to be every where studied, and incessantly commented upon, is an attempt to rein the increasing volatility and pugnaciousness of the improving mind, and to keep it within the Catholic faith, by giving that faith a logical dress, and by connecting it with the researches then so much appreciated[42]. Hence, he ventures to discuss points so little knowable, and so little serviceable in human affairs, as—when the angels were made, and how; whether they be all equal in essence, wisdom, and free will; whether they were created perfect and happy, or the reverse—whether the dæmons differ in rank among themselves; whether they all live in hell, or some are out of it—whether the good angels can sin, or the bad act

[40] See his Apologia seu confessio, 330,333.

[41] Sententiarum, libri iv. It is meant to contain the summa universæ theologiæ. He says in his Prologus, that, unable to resist the wishes of studiosorum patrum, he was desirous to fortify the faith against errors of carnalium atque animalium hominum; and that in his four books he has displayed the fraudulentiam of the viper doctrine. Yet this vehemence did not secure him from a charge of heresy in his own writings. His prologue attempts rhetoric. He had not the clear and exact head of the English schoolmen.

[42] His first book is on the Deity and the Trinity; the second, on Angels, creation, the Devil, and free will; the third, on our Saviour's incarnation and passion, sin, knowledge, and the Christian virtues; the fourth, on the catholic sacraments.

act virtuously; whether they have bodies; and, whether every person has or has not a good angel to preserve him, and a bad one to destroy him[43]. At these pompous weaknesses of human perversity, we may smile, and think Don Quixot as reasonable in his knight-errant career, as the schoolmen in debating on these untangible questions. But a more repulsive and disgusting feeling arises in our minds, when we find Peter Lombard presuming, because compelled by the delirium of the age, to debate—whether the knowledge of the Deity can be increased, diminished, or altered; whether he can know more than he knows; whether he can make any thing better than he has made it; whether he knows all things, always, and together; whether he can always do all that he has the power to do; and where he was before Creation appeared[44]. Disquisitions like these, on which the proudest intellect can know nothing, could have no other tendency than to destroy all veneration for the Mighty Being whom they presumed to canvass; and to make the most stupendous and awful object of human thought, as indecorously familiar as the common themes of schoolboy exercises or a wrangler's altercations.

Most famous Doctors.

The delusion went on till we had, mostly on the side of the church, besides the Venerable Doctor already mentioned,

The irrefragable Doctor - - - -	Alexander Hales[45] - - -	fl. 1230.
The angelical Doctor - - - - -	Thomas Aquinas - - - -	— 1256.
The seraphic Doctor - - - - -	Bonaventura - - - - -	— 1260.
The wonderful Doctor - - - - -	Roger Bacon - - - - -	— 1240.
The most profound Doctor - - -	Ægidius de Columna - -	— 1280.
The most subtle Doctor - - - -	John Dun Scotus[46] - - -	— 1304.

The

[43] Sentent. l. 2. [44] Ib. l. 1.

[45] He became a Franciscan. He studied at Paris; and died there 1245. Tanner, Bib. p. 371, who enumerates his works. He was the master of Duns Scotus. He wrote on the Sententiarum Liber of Lombard.

[46] Born in the village Duns, eight miles out of England. He also wrote on the Sentences, and on Aristotle's works. He went from Oxford to Paris, and engaged in the controversies there agitated. He was a Franciscan, and the master of Occham. He died 1308, at Cologne. Tanner, Bib. 239. He started a new opinion on grace, against Thomas Aquinas, which long divided the schoolmen.

The most resolute Doctor - - - -	Durand - - - - - - - -	fl. 1300.
The invincible Doctor - - - - -	W. Occham[47] - - - - - -	— 1320.
The perspicuous Doctor - - - -	Walter Burley[48] - - - - -	— 1320.
The most enlightened Doctor - -	Raymond Lully - - - - -	— 1300.

Besides Friar Bacon, who belongs to a superior class, the class of true philosophers, four of these martial pugilists, the irrefragable, the most subtle, the invincible, and the perspicuous, were born, and first fought their zealous fight, in the British Islands.

Their important effects on the mind.

Nor these only: So rapidly did the disputatious fever spread, that England abounded with these scholastic students in the reigns of Henry II. and his three immediate successors[49]. A new order of mind, a new range of study, appeared in England by the time that Richard I. acceded. The ancient poets and historiographers, the venerated classics, were not only neglected, but despised. Rhetoric was treated with the contempt which indeed it merited. Logic was new cast. Grammar itself was altered; the old rules and paths of the quadrivium were abandoned[50]. The new philosophy glared

[47] Born in Surrey, a Franciscan. He supported the nominal sect. He died 1347. His Summa totius logicæ was printed at Venice 1508. His foreign editor calls him omnium logicorum acutissimi; inviolatæ scholæ invictissimorum nominalium inceptores. Occham says, he writes his book to collect all the rules of the art of logic into one treatise, p. 1. It is in three parts. He quotes Avicenna. There is great conciseness, precision, clearness and decision, in Occham's writings.

[48] He was born 1275. From his great reputation, he was appointed preceptor to Edward III. He attacked the opinions of Duns Scotus; he studied at Oxford and Paris, and was at last made bishop of Ulm, in Suabia. His works were on some of the principal subjects of Aristotle's treatises, and of the schoolmen; also, de motu animalium, de sensibus, on memory, length of life, and the tides; on the soul; and on ethical, œconomical, and political subjects. He died 1338. Some of his works have been printed after Grosteste's book. See the catalogue of his writings in Tanner, Bib. 141, 142.

[49] John of Salisbury directs the first portion of his Metalogicus to an attack on what he calls the new sect of philosophy. He personifies one of its defenders under the name of Corneficius, and he paints him with features that have the air of being as exaggerated as those of a Saracen on a sign-post. ch. 1. 2, & 3. This work was neatly printed at Leyden 1639, at the end of the Polycraticus.

[50] Poetæ, historiographi habebantur infames.—Ecce nova fiebant omnia; innovabatur

glared in the literary atmosphere like a comet, attracting to itself the admiration and attention of the most intellectual part of society, and depreciating the value of all other studies[51]. Implicit faith, dogmatical creeds, learned authority, and even plain facts, were undervalued. Convenientia and reason were made the criterions of truth[52]. He who had not imbibed the new philosophy, was treated as being duller than the long-eared animal of Arcadia, more obtuse and stupid than either lead or stone[53].

Attacked by John of Salisbury.

In this rage for the disquisition of a specious intellectual novelty, which so strongly roused the spleen of our valuable John of Salisbury, we see the innate love of improvement, its appetite for truth and reason, so inseparable from the human character, exerting themselves in all their energies[54]. It was enough that the new philosophy

batur Grammatica; immutabatur dialectica; contemnebatur rhetorica; et novas toti quadrivii vias, evacuatis priorum regulis, de ipsis philosophiæ adytis proferebant. Metal. p. 741.

[51] It is an instance of the blindness of even worthy minds, when novelties occur, that J. Salisbury did not perceive the expressive force and beneficial import of the very words he was using: "They brought from the very depths of their philosophy, novas vias of the whole quadrivium;" that is, new paths in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music! But perhaps we ought not to blame him for not anticipating the vast flood of knowledge to which these new ways ultimately led. This passage, however, shews us the immense utility and importance of the rise and labours of the schoolmen.

[52] Solam convenientiam sive rationem loquebantur. This argument, he adds, sounds in the mouth of all; and to name a mule or a man, or some of the works of nature, was like a crime, the act of a simpleton or an uncultivated mind, and which a philosopher should shun. It was thought impossible to say or do any thing convenienter et ad rationis normam, unless the mention of conveniency and reason was expressly inserted. Metal. p. 741.

[53] Si quis incumbebat laboribus antiquorum, he was marked, and was a laughter to all, as if not only asello Arcadiæ tardior sed obtusior plumbo, vel lapide. Metal. p. 740.

[54] Abelard had made the same struggle for the independent exertion of reason. "What does it profit," he exclaimed in a passage which S[t] Bernard censures, "to speak ad doctrinam, if what we wish to teach cannot be explained so that it may be understood?" Ab. Op. p. 277. Hence Abelard defined faith to be estimatio; on which Bernard exclaims, "As if it were lawful to every one to feel and speak in that what he liked, or that the sacrament of our faith should remain uncertain in vague and various opinions. Faith therefore, adds the Saint, is not estimatio sed certitudo." p. 283. Bernard is right in his principle, but wrong in its application. Faith once fixed on truth is certitude,

philosophy pretended to create great mental superiority, and was at least original and plausible. These claims were sufficient to excite the popular admiration, and to engage the popular pursuit. Even the sloth and luxury of the cloister could not resist the spirit-stirring study. Monks aspired to attain, and were industrious to spread it. "Many admirers of this new sect," says Salisbury, "have entered the cloisters of the monks and clergy; but while a portion of these became sensible of their error, and confessed that what they had learnt was mere vanity and vexation, others, hardening themselves in their insanity, swelling with their inveterate perverseness, preferred to rave in their folly, than to be taught faithfully by those humble minds to whom God has given grace. If you do not believe me," he adds, "go into the cloisters; examine the manners of the brethren; and you will find there all the arrogance of Moab intensely glowing[55]."

Our venerable author discloses to us another fact, that these new-directed and ardent minds, feeling their logical philosophy to excite without satisfying their understandings, applied themselves to the study of physic, to give them the solid knowledge they panted for. Some went to the best schools abroad to study the art of medicine[56]; and although the moral satirist, unable then to discern the connexion between their pursuits and the improvement of society, attacks this new direction of their curiosity with fresh satire[57], we can have no hesitation to class these venturous

certitude, both in its feeling and in its object; but it requires the previous exercise of reason, that it may not fasten on chimeras, as the Romish hierarchy, in the thirteenth century, often wished it to do. This previous use of reason, the schoolmen claimed; and the papal doctors were forced to deny it, because their existence depended on the practice being discredited.

[55] Metalog. l. 1. c. 4. p. 742.

[56] He says, that others of this new school, beholding a defect in their philosophy, go to Salernum or Montpelier, and are made there Clientuli Medicorum. Ib. p. 743.

[57] His sneer is, that just as they became philosophers, so in a moment they burst out physicians. They boast of Hippocrates and Galen; they protrude words unheard of before;

venturous reasoners, thus seeking to combine physical science with scholastic acuteness, and striving to raise the human mind to new paths of inquiry, among the most important benefactors to the British intellect in its early vegetation.

From the work of this ingenious churchman, we perceive that he himself had gone deep into these fashionable studies. I do not know where to point out a neater and more comprehensive summary of the logical and metaphysical works of Aristotle, than in the Metalogicus of John of Salisbury[58]. As so profound a student had well qualified himself to judge, he had acquired a right to censure. Having, like Solomon, fully enjoyed and exhausted the pleasure of a favourite pursuit, his experience united with his reason to condemn its inanity, and to satirize its abuse. Weighing it in the balances strictly by itself, his criticism was correctly right: It disclosed no knowledge; it communicated no wisdom; its benefits lay hid in its consequences, which had not then been evolved[59]. The very bursting of the bands of venerated authority, though perhaps the result often rather of proud vanity than of enlightened reason, was good, not so much in its immediate produce as in its future effects. A torpefying spell was taken off from the human mind; and

before; they apply their aphorisms to every thing, and strike the human mind like thunder with their tremendous phrases. Ib.

[58] It forms the main theme of his book, after he has discharged his bile at the innovating schoolmen. It is another proof of the importance of these men whom he was depreciating, that he himself attempts in this work to raise the study of rhetoric with all its tropes, colores and puerilities, into the public estimation again. Hence, he praises S[t] Bernard for his manner of teaching the figuras grammaticæ, the colores rhetorices, and the cavillationes sophismatum, p. 782.

[59] It is just to the memory of W. Occam, to say, that he directed his scholastic talents against the usurpations and conduct of the Roman pontiff. He wrote de utili dominio rerum ecclesiasticarum et *abdicatione* bonorum temporalium in perfectione status monachorum et clericorum *adversus errores Johannis papæ*. This was printed at Lyons, 1495.—He also wrote a Tractatum quod Benedictus 12, papa *nonnullas hereses Joannis* 22, amplexus est et defendit. This was in MS. at Paris, in Bibl. Colbertina.—He composed also the compendium *errorum* Joannis 23, papæ, Tanner Bib. 555; and a defensorum logices,

CHAP. VI. THE SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

and if the first schoolmen only used their new liberties in extravagance and insolence, they were soon followed by better thinkers, who combined knowledge with reasoning, and, by a wise moderation, made the freedom they assumed, valuable to themselves and useful to the world[60].

Other schoolmen.

It will be unnecessary to detail all the names that may be collected from ancient documents, of the English students of the scholastic philosophy. Pullen, who became a cardinal[61];—Simon Langton, to whom we owe, in a great measure, Magna Charta[62];—the intrepid and patriotic bishop Grosteste, foremost in every useful pursuit of his day; the friend and cultivator of poetry, scholastic philosophy, Arabian learning, natural philosophy, mathematics, divinity, and canon and civil law; and the fearless and successful assertor of the liberties of the English church, and protector

logices, quo convellit violentum Romani episcopi imperium; and an invectivum contra possessiones Rom. Pont. Leland descript. Brit. vol. 2. p. 323. As he attacked the Pope, the Pope excommunicated him. He accused the Pope of teaching 77 heresies.

[60] In quitting John of Salisbury, I cannot forbear noticing the account which he gives of his studies, as it shews the laborious application with which the scholars of the middle ages pursued the knowledge they valued. He says, that in the year after Henry I. died, he went to the Peripatetic school at Paris, on the Mount of S[t] Genevieve, and there studied logic; he afterwards adhered to Master Alberic, as opinatissimus Dialecticus, and an acerrimus impugnator of the Nominal sect. He was two years with him, and Robert Metridensis an Englishman, both men acuti ingenii et studii pervicacis. He then for three years transferred himself to William de Conchin, to imbibe his grammatical knowledge.—After this, he followed Richard, called the Bishop, retracing with him what he had learnt from others, and the quadrivium; and also heard the German Harduin. He restudied rhetoric, which he had learnt from Master Theodoric, and more completely from Peter Helias. Being poor, he supported himself by teaching the children of the noble, and contracted an intimate acquaintance with Master Adam, an Englishman and a stout Aristotelian. He prosecuted afterwards the study of logic with William of Soissons. Returning at the end of three years, he heard Master Gilbert on logic, and on divine subjects; then Robert Pullen, and also Simon Periacensis, a faithful reader, but a heavy disputer. These two last were his only teachers in theology. Thus, he adds, I passed 12 years occupied by these various studies. Metal. l. 2. c. 10. p. 802—805.

[61] "Robertus Pullen, whose memory is pleasant to all good men, and whom the apostolic seat made a chancellor from a scholastic doctor." Metal. p. 746.

[62] See before, p. 348.

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protector of the English clergy, against the taxations and tyranny of the Pope[63];—Commentators on Lombard's book of Sentences, almost innumerable[64]: These, and many others of equal application, though of minor fame, show in their numerous works the subjects, the nature and the value, of the scholastic philosophy, which appears to have been peculiarly cultivated in England[65].

Their scepticism.

The schoolmen became divided insensibly into two classes: those, who allowed themselves to discourse without limits; and those, who defended the existing hierarchy and all its theological system. Of these last, it will be just to say that they, and especially Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus, stood, usefully at that time, in the gap between philosophy and theology, and kept them from bitter and irreconcileable variance[66]. But for them, it

[63] See the copious and astonishing list of his works, most still in MS. in Tanner, Bib. Mon. p. 345—351. They are equal in number to any of the great Arabian philosophers: indeed in one trait he surpassed them, for he also wrote poetry. See his Chastel d'Amour, Harl. MSS. 1121.

[64] We may guess the number of these, from the facts, that no fewer than nine Englishmen of the Christian name of Richard commented upon him—as, R. Rufus, in 1270; R. Cornubiensis, R. Ruys, R. Middleton, 1300; R. Nottingham, 1320; R. Conington, 1330; R. Wilton, 1339; R. Fishacre, 1345; and R. Wickingham, in 1381.—There were also nine Roberts, of the British Islands, who chose the same task; as Rob. Waldock, 1272; R. Crowe, 1300; R. Walsingham, 1310; R. Carew, 1326; R. Cotton, 1340; R. Eliphat, 1340; R. Leicester, 1348; R. Worsop, 1350; R. Walaby, 1399. Also, three Ralphs, as Ralph Loxley, 1310; R. Acton, 1320; R. Radiptor, 1350. Also, Roger Reyseth, and Roger Swinehead, 1350; as also Stephen Petrington, 1417.—As these five Christian names were taken by me at random, I have no doubt that some others would yield as copious a list of commentors on this celebrated work of the Magister Sententiarum.

[65] I infer this from observing, that more English authors on this subject are commemorated in the biography of literature, than of any other country. Indeed I think I shall not exceed the truth if I say, that if you take any subject of literature or knowledge, from the time of the Norman conquest, you will find more English writers on it, than of any other single country—and that, reviewing our writers on each collectively, they have done more on every topic they have handled, than those of any other country. I pen this with a belief that I do not exaggerate.

[66] We find from John of Salisbury, that the more scriptural teachers were not only denied to be philosophers, but were scarcely endured as clergymen. They were called the oxen of Abraham, and Balaam's asses—nec modo philosophos negant, imo nec clericos patiuntur, vix homines sinunt esse; sed boves Abrahæ vel asinos Balaamitos duntaxat nominant, imo derident. Metal. p. 746.

it is not improbable that the study of the Arabian metaphysicans, which unfettered, might have diseased the mind by its own extravagancies, and filled the world with scepticism, and with that selfishness and sensuality which the Grecian spirit of debate and incredulity had produced, when the Roman empire fell[67]. The philosophical doctrine of the scholastic age was, that religious knowledge was unnecessary, and that the disciplinæ philosophiæ were sufficient. Hence Thomas Aquinas was forced to begin his elaborate work, by proving logically that the sacra doctrina was also essential, and that it was a real science[68]. His exertions, among others, served to keep the mind in a balance between philosophy and religion, till succeeding thinkers could discern the corruption from the primeval truth, and reform, without destroying, the ecclesiastical system[69].

Thomas Aquinas.

The ponderous labours of Aquinas are a monument of the powers of the human mind, and of the ductility and fertility of human language. But they make us grateful to Providence for the vast improvement of human society, since his exertions and those of his fellow-workmen. In the comparatively dwarfish volumes

[67] Among the erroneous opinions of the day, condemned at Paris in 1270, we find such as these—that the world was eternal—that there never was a first man—that the soul dies with the body—that free-will is governed by necessity—that the Deity knows nothing but himself—that human actions are not governed by Divine Providence—that the Deity cannot give immortality to a mortal creature—that the first cause cannot make many worlds—and has not any knowledge of the future; together with a great many tenets on the Deity and religion, which certainly went to destroy the belief of his existence, and of Christianity also. See them printed at the end of Lombard's work, ed. Cologne 1609.

[68] T. Aquinas Summa Theolog. p. 1. These topics form his two first articles.

[69] Of this description was our venerable Wickliffe. It is remarkable, that France has, in the present age of knowledge, furnished no person who united enough of philosophy and of religion, to meliorate without destruction. Nothing but the extremes of total belief or total disbelief of the Christianity of Rome, have yet appeared there—extremes that will yet shake the nation, until a Melancthon, an Erasmus, or a Luther, emerge. The same remark may be applied to Spain and Italy. It was a great beauty in the English intellect, as afterwards in the German, that it attained to separate the injurious appendage from the substantial truth.

volumes of Dr. Paley, Locke, Hartley, and Dr. Stewart, we possess more wisdom and psychological knowledge, than the most patient exertion can glean from all the works of all these seraphic, subtle, invincible, profound and most enlightened doctors.

These panegyricized masters, like all the other men of learning whom we have noticed, excited the curiosity of their contemporaries to extensive disquisitions, and contributed to form the intellect of the ages that succeeded them; and, limited to these beneficial results, we may justly sanction their ancient reputation. There is indeed something very serviceable to the mind in the mode of Thomas Aquinas. He first proposes the question he has to consider; then, with all the candour of Dr. Paley, he fairly and fully states two arguments against it. He subjoins to these his own reasons for the opinion he supports; and, having thus placed both sides of the subject before the reader's attention, he draws his conclusion, and adds some remarks in refutation of the opposing arguments. On this plan he steadily proceeds through all the endless ramifications of his moral, metaphysical, political and religious work[70].

It was also his object, and the habit of the schoolmen, to express their thoughts as simply and as closely as possible. To this merit Aristotle certainly led. The matter of the Stagyrite was puny, and his logic a train of words; but the direction and style of mind which he introduced into these discussions, bordered on mathematical severity, and imparted both to the Arabian and the scholastic intellect a valuable habit, which has given order and precision to

[70] See his Summa, passim.—Of this celebrated man I state with pleasure, that his sentiments, on some points highly interesting to human welfare, were liberal and wise. He makes the common good the principle of government, vol. 2. p. 96. He says, that princes taking things unjustly, are guilty of rapine, p. 126. He speaks highly of intellect, and even makes it a virtue, p. 97. He decides that Jews and Gentiles ought not to be compelled to Christianity; and therefore, perhaps, humoured the prejudices of his order against his own judgment, when he added, that heretics and apostates might be. p. 21.

to our physical and metaphysical inquiries, and preserved them from rhetoric and trite declamation.

In undertaking the task of proving every thing, this angelic doctor certainly taught the mind to question every thing. But the schoolmen differed from the ancient Academics, whom thus far they resembled, in this material circumstance, that they never left the mind indecisive. They canvassed both sides of the question, and they were perhaps too willing at any time to debate on either. But in all their logical battles they always fought for some inference; both the combatants contended for some result. By this means, they educated the mind to decide as well as to discuss; and their disputing spirits and never ceasing debates produced at least this advantage, that they disciplined the human thought to be independent, active, inquisitive, and free[71]. Increasing knowledge gradually poured in to correct their extravagancies, and to humble their pride. The jealous vigilance of the ecclesiastical body assisted to produce the same effect. Their importance diminished as their ignorance became manifest, and as society became improved from their discussions. The scholastic philosophy at last declined, as the good sense of the English thinkers increased, and as the treasures of the experimental became accumulated and diffused. The first blow it received, came from Friar Bacon—the last, from his ennobled namesake.

Use of the Schoolmen; and their decline.

The great division of the schoolmen was into Nominalists and Realists; the former inclined to scepticism, the latter were the most religious. Our Erigena was the parent of the Nominalists, and Abelard its great disseminator in Europe. One of their chief tenets

Nominalists and Realists.

[71] The intellect of Europe began to improve so much amid the discussions of the Schoolmen, that even in the twelfth century, some of them questioned the utility of the works of Aristotle. Metal. c. 24. p. 905. The followers of S[t] Bernard, imitating their master, attempted to reconcile Plato and Aristotle: but Salisbury truly remarks, that this was laborasse in vanum. p. 816.

tenets was the doctrine of the Universals, which (as already intimated) was the prototype of the Pantheistic theory. It seems indeed to have been a natural corollary to the system of Aristotle. He supposed in all substances an invisible imaginary something, which he called the ὑποκείμενον, to which all the visible properties of the body were united. He divided these into his famous ten categories or predicaments[72]. Every thing therefore had this invisible upokeimenon, or subject, or occult essence, and its categories. This fanciful but delusive system taken for granted, it was an easy step to suppose this invisible essence, or upokeimenon, to be universal, and to be in all things the same; and that bodies might be alike in this, and differ only in their accidental properties. The essence of Peter was, on this theory, the same as of John; these two persons only differed in their categories or accidents. But if this were allowed, it was no large extension of argument to add, that the essence of a dog is the same as that of a man, and that they differ also only in their predicaments. One collection of outward and visible properties was a dog, and the other a man. But these are only names and words. The invisible universal upokeimenon is identical in both. Such with particular modifications of individual professors was the spirit of the theory of the Vocalists, Nominalists, or Universalists, which we see went as near to some of the worst theories of scepticism, as argument, contriving also to be ostensibly decorous, could publicly advance.

The Realists contended for the positive and real differences of things, individuals, essences and natures, as well as properties, accidents

[72] His own enumeration of them is—the οὐσίαν, ἢ ποσὸν, ἢ ποιὸν, ἢ πρός τι, ἢ ποῦ, ἢ ποτὲ, ἢ κεῖσθαι, ἢ ἔχειν, ἢ ποιεῖν, ἢ πάσχειν. Arist. Categ. v. 1. p. 449. ed. Buhle. They are well illustrated in the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, in the Coachman's description of the two men he saw fighting for a prize: "Mark," quoth Cornelius, "how the fellow runs through the predicaments: Men, *substantia*; two, *quantitas*; fair and black, *qualitas*; serjeant and butcher, *relatio*; wounded the other, *actio et passio*; fighting, *situs*; stage, *ubi*; two o'clock, *quando*; blue and red breeches, *habitus*."

accidents and categories. The essential and invisible nature of Peter and John, of a man and a quadruped, were, they maintained, as distinct and different as their external properties. The Realists at last so much prevailed, that the Universalists were forgotten, till Occham revived them[73]. Both parties had their advocates and their antagonists in England as well as on the Continent. But the perpetually enlarging stream of experimental knowledge destroying the Aristotelian system and all its controversies, at length banished both the upokeimenon and the predicaments, the Realists and the Universalists, for ever from human favour.

Discovery and study of the Pandects.

The discovery of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalfi, in 1137, and the school of civil law, opened at Bologna, which was in such reputation in the twelfth century, that Becket and other Englishmen went to study there, assisted to improve both England and Europe. The Institutes of Justinian contain a fund of jurisprudential wisdom, the most sagacious produce of the Roman intellect,

[73] This subject forms the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Occham's Logic, which are visibly levelled at Duns Scotus.

On perusing one of the principal works of Duns Scotus—his Exactissimæ questiones in universam logicam Aristoteles—I observe that he begins upon the subject of the Universals, making Porphyry the basis of his questions. He then proceeds with his questions on most of Aristotle's works—his predicaments, peri hermenias, elenchi, analytici, priores, posteriories. His last question is an diffinientem necesse sit scire omnia. p. 473. According to his commentator, one object of Scotus was to distinguish between the ens reale and the ens rationis—God, angel, man, knowledge, colour, thought, lines, &c. were entia realia. The ens rationis is that which has no being extra animam, as a chimæra, a golden mountain, &c.—It is impossible to read these works of the Schoolmen without feeling them to be but new modifications of the works of the Arabian metaphysicians. Avicenna, Averroes, and Al Gazel, go as deeply and as acutely through all the subtleties of the ens and the esse, and the categories, as Duns Scotus or Occham. Indeed the dispute between the Universalists and the Realists began from the Arabians; for I observe that Al Gazel considers at some length the division of being, into universal and particular. In this he discusses one of the questions of Duns Scotus, whether plures homines sunt unus homo—whether many men are one man. They who remember the discussion in Scriblerus, on the universal Lord Mayor, may like to know how an Arabian puts this knotty point:

"Some persons hearing what we say, that all men are one in humanity, and all blackness one in blackness, have thought that universal blackness may be something from

PART II. LITERARY HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

intellect, which imparted no small improvement to the imperfect moral reasoning of the middle ages.

Our clerical chancellors were usually proficients in this study; and it is not unreasonable to ascribe some portion of the high and strict rules of equity which have prevailed in the English Court of Chancery, to the ancient study of the Roman Pandects[74].

IN this Review of the history of England, from the middle of the Eleventh century to the close of the Thirteenth, we have seen the national mind emerging progressively from inertness and ignorance, to strength and activity, and to a curiosity disdainful of limits, and striving even to pass the flagrantia menia mundi. In the next period,

from which any thing may be; and that an universal man is something; and that an universal soul is some being, one in number, and existing in all nominalibus—as, one father in many sons, one soil in many fields.

" This is the first error; for if the universal soul be one in number, and be actually in Peter and John, and others; and Peter were wise, and John foolish; it would follow that one soul may be at the same time skilled and ignorant in the same thing, which is *inconveniens*.

" So if an universal animal be one thing in number, and be actually in many individuals, it would follow that the same animal may be at the same time swimming in the water and walking on two feet, or may be running on four legs and flying in the air; which is incongruous.

" Universal being is therefore only in the intellectibus of the thing of which the sensus est. The intellect receives the form of man, and the certitude of it when some one individual thing is proposed to it. Afterwards if it should see another, a new impression does not take place, but remains the same as before— So if he saw three or four.

" Men, singly taken, do not differ from each other in any way in humanity. But if he should afterwards see a wolf, then some quidditas, and another image (depictio) different from the first, would be made in him.

" The universal, therefore, so far as it is the universal, exists in the mind, not in the individuals, for in nature there is no universal man."— Al Gazel. Logica et Philosophica, Venice 1506.

Our modern doctrines on abstraction have not quite set these points to rest; for it is not yet fully settled, whether what are called abstract ideas, be any thing more than generalizing terms. But, lo! the Nominalists, and Realists again!

[74] There were lectures on the civil law before this period in Normandy, but probably on some imperfect abstracts of the Institutes. Bologna was so jealous of her knowledge of them, that an oath was exacted from the public lecturers there, that they should not teach law out of Bologna.— Murat. Ant. Ital. 893—910.

period, we shall see it advancing still more successfully to original poetry, rational theology, true science, and sound natural philosophy. But enough has been already stated to shew, that the history of England, from the period of the Norman conquest, is the history of its continued improvement; and we shall find hereafter, that in the succeeding periods, although the progress was diversified in its objects, and more diffused in its extent, yet that it never became either stationary or retrograde. The improveability of human nature is strongly displayed in the course of British history, from the accession of the Conqueror; and there is nothing in the present appearance of society to induce us to despair of still nobler results in the ages that are to revolve[75].

[75] With the views of Madame du Stael, on the progress of the human species, I cordially coincide. An attentive consideration of history has long led me to this conclusion. I differ with her on some of her reasonings, but fully concur in her result, and with this qualification, would strongly recommend to my readers the eighth chapter of her "Litterature considerée dans ses rapports avec les Institutions sociales." p. 182—211. Let me not omit this opportunity to compliment her sex and country on their possessing a writer of such a powerful mind and originality of thought and observation. She is a striking instance of the progression for which she so eloquently contends.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

AS the Reader may be curious to have a specimen of the style of reasoning of the *British Schoolmen*, I will subjoin an extract from the Most Subtle Doctor, and another from the Invincible Doctor, on the Universals. I will translate the passages very closely, in order to shew the brevity and peculiar style of each. Duns Scotus, who thinks Universals to be real things, first states the objections to his opinion—then supports it, and answers them. Occham plunges at once into his reasonings against the reality of these logical gentlemen.

DUNS SCOTUS,
The most Subtle Doctor.

THE Universal, like other concrete things, is taken in three ways. Sometimes it is taken for the subjectum (the upokeimenon) that is, for the thing of the first meaning, to which universal meaning is applicable; and in this mode the Universal is the first object of the intellect. Sometimes it is taken for the form, to wit, for the thing of the second meaning; caused from the intellect, and applicable to things of the first meaning: and thus the logician properly speaks of the Universal.

Thirdly, for the aggregate from the subject and the form; and that is a being by accident, because it aggregates different natures from which there is not one by itself; and so it is not from the consideration of any artificer; because of a being by accident there is no science, according to Aristotle

totle in his sixth metaphysics; because also, it is not definable. Our discourse will therefore be only of one of these, to wit, on the second mode assumed: not of the others.

Let us first inquire whether the Universal is a being: which seems not to be, by Boethius saying that every thing which is, therefore is, because it is one in number. But the Universal is not one in number, because it is predicated of many univocally. Therefore, &c.

Again—According to Aristotle in the predicaments; all, because it is a thing distinct from the first substance, is either said of the first substance, or is in it. But the Universal is a thing distinct from the first substance, and is not said of the first substance, nor is in it. Therefore, &c.

Proof of the Minor—Second substances only are said of the first, as appears by Aristotle. But the Universal, as it may be an accident, is not a second substance; nor is it in the first, because then the first substance would be Universal, as that in which is whiteness, is white.

So if the Universal is a being, it is so either from nature or from the intellect—not from nature, because then it would be single, and a term of transmutation. Therefore it is from the intellect alone. Therefore it is a fiction, and so not a being.

In opposition to this, the Universal is defined by Aristotle, in his first peri-hermenias. But there is no definition of a non-existence. Also, according to Boethius, the second meanings are applied to the first. But a non-existence is not applied to an existence.

But we say that the Universal is a being, because nothing is understood under the ratio of a non-existence; because the intelligible moves the intellect; for since the intellect is a passive virtue (according to Aristotle de Anima) it does not act unless it be moved by an object. A non-existence cannot move any thing as an object, because to move is the property of a being in action. Therefore nothing is understood under the ratio of non-existence. But whatever is understood, is understood under the ratio of the Universal Therefore that ratio is not at all a non-existence.

And as to the first objection, I say that Boethius understands it of that which is exterior to the operation of the intellect, of which sort the Universal is not: and the same to the second, which Aristotle so understands.

On the other hand, because it proves that conclusion by this—Because second substances are spoken of the first, they are accidents in the first. But second substances, as is there said of them, are not exterior to the operation of the intellect. Therefore he does not understand it of those only which are exterior to the operation of the intellect.

Proof of the Minor—Because in the beginning of the chapter, he divides substance into first and second. If then that division at all avails, it follows that the members, as he there understands it, are opposed. But that which is the second subtance exterior to the operation of the intellect, is not opposed to the first substance, but is the same. Therefore he does not understand of the second substance quoad illud, that it is a being exterior to the operation of the intellect. Therefore I say that the Universal is spoken of the first substances.

To that which is against this—because second substances are spoken only of the first; I say that second substances, as it is there said, are accidents, not indeed realities (of which he puts another member, as to be in) but intentionalia, of which by themselves it is sufficient to be spoken of. But the Universal is something more common to the second substance, because the second substance is called an Universal, applied to something in the genus of substance.

To the third I say—That the Universal is from the intellect. And when it is said, Therefore it is a fiction; I answer, that this is a non sequitur. Because in a fiction nothing corresponds in a thing without. But in the Universal, something without does correspond, by which the intellect is moved to

cause

cause such an intention. For, according to Boethius, a species is a slight similitude of singulars, and genus a more slight one of its species.

Therefore I say, that effectively it is from the intellect. But materially, whether originally or occasionally, it is from a property in the thing; but not at all a fiction, &c.

Duns Scotus, Quest. 4. p. 4. ed. Ven. 1587.

Let us now turn to his scholar and antagonist—

WILLIAM OCCHAM,

The Invincible Doctor.

That no Universal is a substance, proved by many reasons and authorities.

THAT no Universal is any substance exterior to or existing out of the mind, may be evidently proved:

1st. Thus—No Universal is a single substance and one in number. If this be denied, it will follow that sortes (chance) will be an Universal, because there is not more reason that one Universal should be one single substance, than another. Therefore no single substance is any Universal. But all substance is one in number, and single; because each thing is one thing, and not many. For if it be one thing and not many, it is one in number. This is called by all men, one in number.

But if a substance be many things, it either is many single things, or many universal things. If the first be granted, it will follow that a substance may be many men; and then, although the Universal be distinguished from a particular one, it will not be so from particulars.

But if a substance shall be many universal things, I take one of these universal things: It is either many things; or one, and not many. If the last be granted, it will follow that it is single—If the first be conceded, I ask, will it not be either many single things, or many universal things? and thus the process will be in infinitum. Or it will be allowed, that no substance is universal, and therefore no single one.

Again—If an Universal shall be a substance existing in single substances, and distinct from them; it will follow, that it may exist without them; because every thing prior to another may naturally, by divine power, exist without it. But the consequens is absurd. Therefore—

Again, if that opinion were true, no individual could be created. If any individual could be, then it would occur, that it would not take its whole being out of nothing, if the Universal, which is in it, was first in another.

From the same it would follow, that God could not simply annihilate an individual, unless he should destroy other individuals. Because, if he should annihilate any individual, he would destroy all which is of the essence of that individual; and by consequence he would destroy that Universal which is in it and in others: and by consequence other things would not remain, since they could not remain without a part of its substance, which would be that Universal.

Again—Such Universal could not be put as any thing totally out of the essence of the individual. It will therefore be of the essence of the individual; and by consequence an individual will be composed of Universals, and so an individual will not be more universal than single.

Again—It will follow, that something of the essence of our Saviour will be miserable and damned, because that common nature existing really in him, would be damned in the damned, as in Judas. But this is absurd. Therefore—

Many other reasons might be adduced, which, for the sake of brevity, I pass by. But I confirm my conclusion by authorities:

First, by Aristotle treating in his Metaphysics on this question—Whether the Universal be a substance. He demonstrates that no

no Universal is a substance, when he says it is impossible that a substance should be any thing of those spoken of universally.

[After several references to Aristotle, he adds]

From the preceding authorites it may be collected, that no Universal is a substance, howsoever it be considered. A consideration of the intellect alone does not make any thing to be a substance or not a substance; although the meaning of the term may cause this name *substance* to be predicated of it or not, but not pro se. So as if this term, dog—State in this, a dog is an animal: If this stands of the barking animal, it is true; if, of the star in the sky, it is false. Therefore that the same thing should by one consideration be a substance; and by another, not a substance, is impossible.

Therefore it must be granted, that no Universal is a substance, however considered. But every Universal is a meaning of the mind, which, according to a probable opinion, is not distinguished from the act of understanding. Whence they say, that the meaning by which I understand mankind, is a natural sign signifying man; as natural, as a groan is a sign of infirmity or pain; and is such a sign, that it may stand for men in mental propositions, as voice may stand for things in vocal propositions.

And that the Universal is a meaning of the mind, is sufficiently expressed by Avicenna, 5. Meta where he remarks, 'I say then that the Universal is expressed in three ways; for that is called an Universal which is spoken of many in action, as men: for that meaning is called an Universal, which nothing forbids to be thought of when it is predicated of many.' From this it appears that the Universal is a meaning of the mind, conceived to be predicated of many.

This may be confirmed by reason, for every Universal is predicable of many; but the meaning of the mind only on the sign voluntarily instituted is conceived to be predicated of many, and not a substance. Therefore, the meaning of the mind only, or the sign voluntarily instituted, is the Universal.

But now, I do not use the sign universally for a sign voluntarily instituted, but for that which is naturally Universal: because indeed a substance is not conceived to be predicated afterwards; because, if so, it would follow that a proposition should be composed of particular substances, and by consequence the subjectum would be at Rome and predicated at Oxon: which is absurd.

Again—A proposition either is in the mind or in the voice, or in writing. But to man they are not particular substances. Therefore it appears that no proposition can be composed of substances, but is composed of universals. Universals therefore are not substances in any way.

Occham. Summa Logicæ, c. 15. p. 8.

DOES not this pertinacity of reasoning sufficiently justify Occham's title to his epithet—The Invincible?

Whatever be the truth on the points disputed between these logical pugilists, the intellectual part of mankind, after reading the above specimens, can have no doubt, that although these conflicts produced great subtlety of mind and distinctions of language, yet that the disuse of all such topics, and the oblivion of all such arguments and phraseology, have been great blessings to society, and the marks and means of its improvement in true science and useful reasoning.

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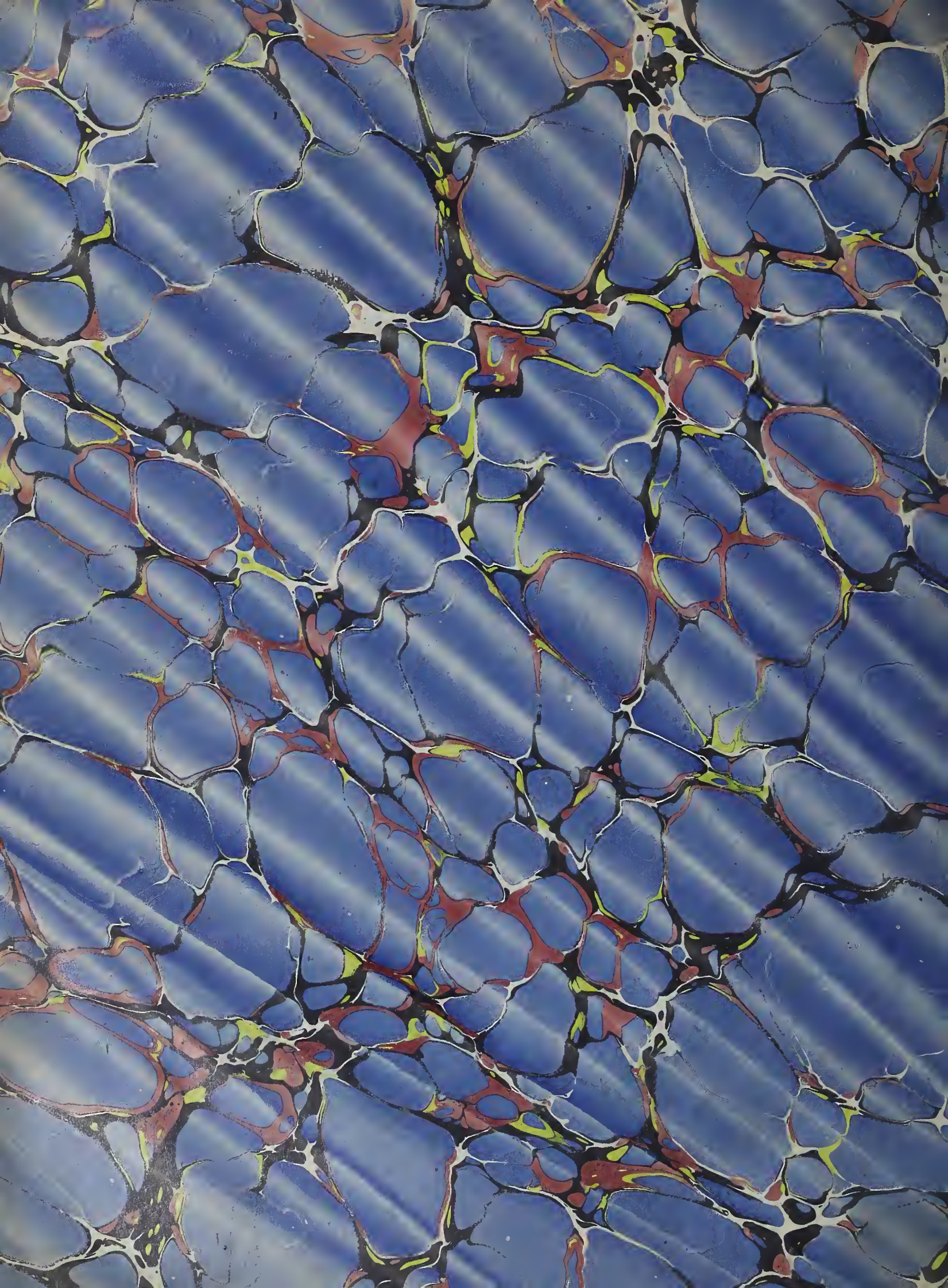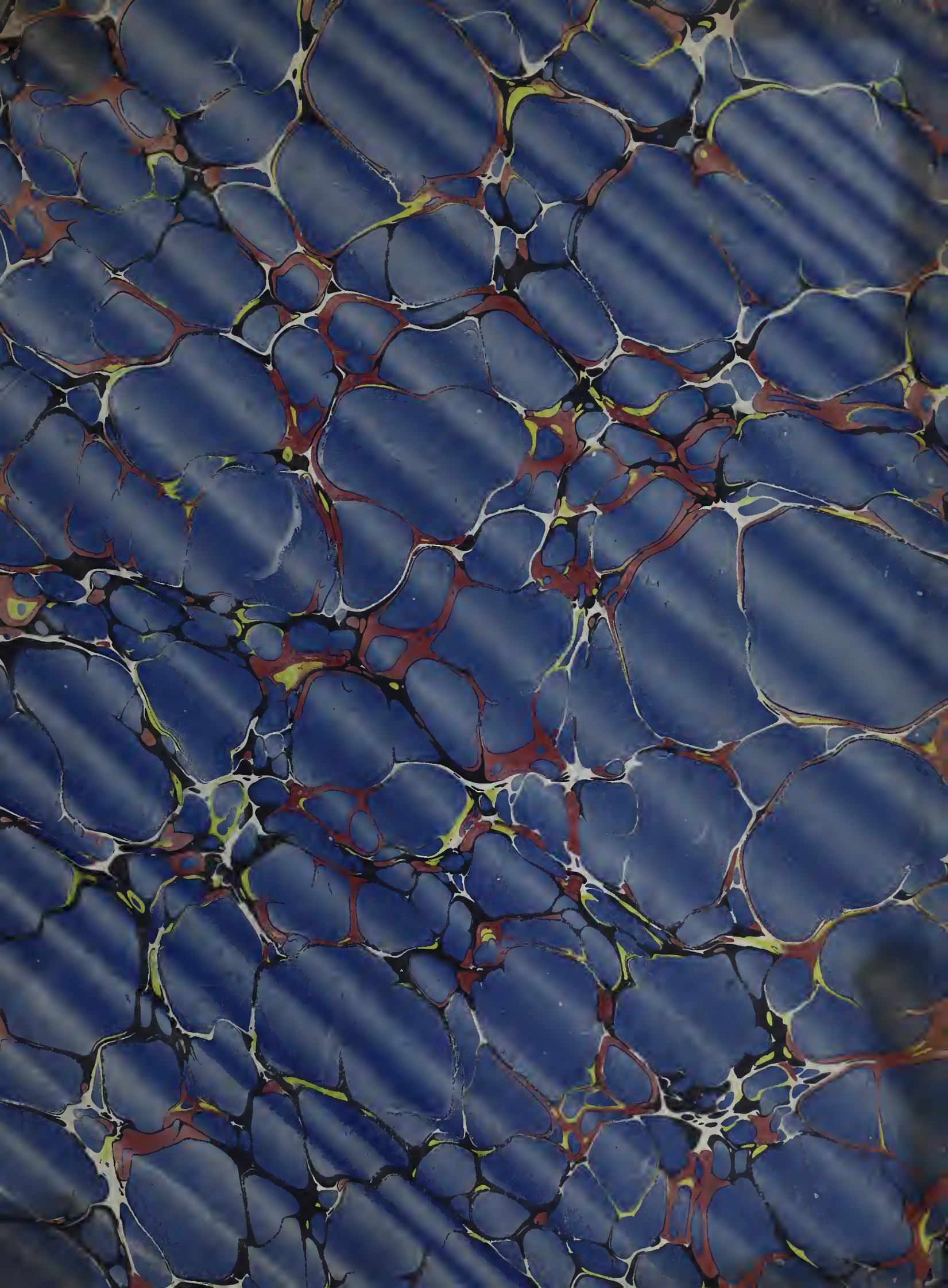
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